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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1889

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Conference of Chief Editors of East European Sociological Reviews
(VIITCUL SOCIAL, Jan-Feb 81) 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Briefs
Arab Trade Union Official 4
First Nicaraguan Ambassador 4

HUNGARY

- Gyori Writes on Policy, State of Nation
(Imre Gyori; NEPSZABADSAG, 19 Apr 81) 5

POLAND

- 'LE MONDE' Examines Implications of Cardinal Wyszynski's Death
(Editorial; LE MONDE, 30 May 81) 12
- Opole Voivodship Party Plenum Reportage Noted
(Various sources, various dates) 14
- Common Language Needed, by Piotr Musiewicz
Report on Plenum Deliberations, by E. Augustyn
Excerpts of Masny Address, by Jozef Masny
Summary of Discussions, by M. Baran

ROMANIA

- Public Airing of Conflicts Between Socialist States Deplored
(Vasile Sandru; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Apr 81) 31
- Dialogue Between Marxism, Other Philosophies Examined
(Ion Florea; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Apr 81) 33

New Trade Union Officials (MUNCA, 9 Apr 81)	39
--	----

Danish Reporter Sees Evidence of Increased Union Independence (Vibeke Sperling; INFORMATION, 23 Apr 81)	45
--	----

YUGOSLAVIA

Data on Party Membership in Montenegro (Velizar Brajovic; KOMUNIST, 17 Apr 81)	50
---	----

Students Question Action on Belgrade Professors (Editorial; BORBA, 18 May 81)	53
--	----

Briefs	
Bakaric Reminiscences About Tito	57
Ljubacic Reminiscences About Tito	57

CONFERENCE OF CHIEF EDITORS OF EAST EUROPEAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEWS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 81 pp 144-145

[Article by I. B.]

[Text] Under the program for multilateral scientific cooperation among the academies of sciences in socialist countries that provides annually for meetings of chief editors of specialized reviews, during the 7-10 October 1980 period, this country, at Suceava, was the scene of the 15th Conference of chief editors of philosophical and sociological reviews in socialist countries. The conference was attended by representatives of reviews in Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Romania.

The participants in the conference were greeted by Floarea Leustean, candidate member of the CC of the RCP, secretary of the Suceava County Party Committee, and Prof Dr Docent Roman Moldovan, vice chairman of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.

The conference proceedings were opened by Prof Dr Dumitru Ghise, candidate member of the CC of the RCP, prorector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, chairman of the Section of Philosophy and Logics of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.

The program of the conference included a scientific debate on the topic "Humanism and Human Status Under Socialism," a session on the topic "Tradition and Actuality in Romanian Sociological School," and an exchange of experience among editors of specialized reviews.

The reports presented during the debate on the topic "Humanism and Human Status Under Socialism" and the discussions held highlighted the fact that the political line of our party, involving great emphasis on in-depth analysis of all the phenomena in the modern world, allows, in philosophy and sociology also, for an outlook characterized by complexity, great depth and theoretical insight and with broad ramifications for the process of socialist construction.

The scientific session on the topic "Tradition and Actuality in Romanian Sociological School" proceeded in the Fundu Moldovei locality. The proceedings of the session were conducted by Prof Dr Ion Iordachel, chief editor of the VIITORUL SOCIAL review and marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Romanian sociologist Dimitrie Gusti, the national and international historic significance of the activity of the Bucharest sociological school.

In addition to the representatives of sociological reviews, attending were local party executives, cultural officials, teachers from local lyceums. The session was opened by Prof Elena Lucau Danila, party committee secretary, village mayor, who gave the report "Fundu Moldovei -- Past, Present and Future." Prof Dr Ion Iordachel presented "Theoretical and Methodological Factors of the Gusti Sociological System," and Dr Stefan Costea, "Directions, Goals and Tasks of Romanian Sociological Research in Light of the Program Documents of the Romanian Communist Party."

In her Report "Fundu Moldovei -- Past, Present and Future" Prof Elena Lucau Danila pointed out the program for the modernization of our rural localities, the idea of the model village provided with economic, administrative, cultural, educational, and health units, the civic center described by Gusti and that could be achieved at a high level only in our days.

Prof Dr Ion Iordachel emphasized the unified nature of the Gusti sociological system, the unity between theory, method, procedures and technique of research. He dwelt on the importance of the monographic method as a perfected tool of scientific knowledge that permits collection of numerous data for the formulation of the sociological theory. In this context, references were made to monographic studies and surveys conducted in various parts of this country, in economic units, communes, towns, and so forth.

Dealing with directions, goals and tasks of sociological research, Dr Stefan Costea spoke of the input which sociological research must provide into resolving the complex theoretical and practical problems posed by the current stage of socioeconomic development of Romania; the diagnostic and prospective character of sociological research; the interdisciplinary matters in research; the typology of social research.

Prof Dr Ion Tudosescu -- in supplementing the reports presented -- focused on the expansion of sociological education in technical colleges and on the positive results obtained in specialized laboratories.

Representatives of the countries involved in the conference took the floor during the discussions on the reports presented. They pointed out the main directions and objectives in the expansion of sociological research in the countries concerned. The speakers included: on behalf of the Soviet delegation, Dr Vladimir Staroverov, assistant editor-in-chief of SOTZIALOGHICHESKIE ISSLEDOVANIA review; Dr Radi Vasiliev, assistant editor-in-chief of SOTZIOLOGHICHESKI PROBLEMY review, secretary of the Bulgarian Association of Sociology; and Prof Dr Jan Malinovski, assistant editor-in-chief of the Polish sociological review, head of the chair of sociology of the working class, Warsaw University.

At the conference, views were exchanged between the editors of sociological reviews. During this exchange of views emphasis was placed on the need for and the importance of the best possible mutual knowledge of sociological achievements in the socialist countries represented at the conference. Moreover, the participants agreed on the publication of information regarding the latest results of sociological research and mutual information on scientific events and national anniversaries in the countries involved.

Furthermore, the relevance was emphasized of mutually publishing surveys and articles on topics agreed upon in advance.

11710
CSO: 246

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

ARAB TRADE UNION OFFICIAL--In Prague on 23 April, Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, received (Hamid Abu Bakr Dhallud), general secretary of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. They exchanged information about the activity of their two organizations, expressed interest in bilateral strengthening of relations and assessed the prospects of further cooperation. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Apr 81 p 2 AU]

FIRST NICARAGUAN AMBASSADOR--Aquiles Centen Perez, first ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua to the CSSR, arrived in the CSSR on 29 April. After his arrival he was received in the Cernin Palace in Prague by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. [AU071048 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 81 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400/208

GYORI WRITES ON POLICY, STATE OF NATION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by Imre Gyori, Department head of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee: "The Economy, Public Information and Public Opinion"]

[Text] It is apparent to everyone that, especially during the last one and one-half to 2 years, the population's knowledge of economics--and we might add, world economics--has increased by leaps and bounds. The viewpoint that our accomplishments and potentialities are to be evaluated not in themselves, but through the evolving, rapidly changing international scale of values has taken root. This interrelationship is even occasionally overemphasized, resulting in arousal of feelings of helplessness in some, although the development of our fate basically depends on our efforts and not on the whims of the world economy.

Openly, Honestly

During the last one and one-half to 2 years, the population, both as producer and consumer, has become sensitive to the difficult position of the national economy. The preparations for the 12th Congress and the open atmosphere of the discussions have contributed to this awareness. The increasing burdens have not caused disheartening, although we must be aware that the burden bearing capacity is not unlimited.

The patience of the workers is facing its greatest trial, especially in those situations where the road to development is blocked by disorganization, laxity and leadership failures, and results in a feeling of hopelessness.

People are occupied with problems such as whether the plans can be achieved, whether the achieved standard of living can be maintained and whether we accomplished what we did at the cost of jeopardizing the future. If we do not provide convincing and timely answers to these and similar questions, worries could intensify causing distortions in perspective, and making concerted action more difficult.

Overall, we can establish that the terrain in which we are operating--I am referring to the economic, social and political elements of reality--is generally favorable but not easy. Nor should we labor under the delusion that we need to traverse difficult terrain only for a short time. We can expect to have more difficult external and internal conditions for a long time.

Our public information efforts are characteristic, in their chief trends are serving our party's economic policy well, are promoting its realization and are strengthening confidence. The majority of the publications represents a significant power to formulate opinion and awareness. The press, radio and television all have their roles in making the public understand the new, more or less unfamiliar phenomena and processes, and to make it accept the occasional unpopular measures with greater understanding.

In the future our information policy will continue to answer questions of concern to the populace openly and honestly, according to the party's general policy and practice. For us the party-mindedness of our publicity will continue to mean that we shall faithfully reflect things as they are, highlight relationships, assist the people in formulating their opinions and to influence society's mentality, behavior and actions toward the proper direction. Despite the results--we are well aware--there is much to be done, to meet the many justified needs and many valid criticisms. We may also encounter extreme viewpoints. We are endeavoring to satisfy legitimate needs within our means, to take valid criticism to heart, and as a result to raise the level of public information.

In our current day to day efforts, we must first of all formulate the perspective on questions which are arising in new ways. We need to focus the chief attention on the evaluation of the actual situations and on the performance of the next tasks in line. Let us examine a few of these.

Let Us Disseminate Useful Experiences

There have been many reports, articles and publications about the decrease in the growth rate. Some communiques gave the impression that the less the growth rate the better. This, however, is an over-simplification. We should clearly see that our stated viewpoint about economic development has not changed. The natural state and specific identifying mark of the socialist economy is dynamic development, relatively rapid economic development.

It is important that we once again review the well known relationships in order to clarify that: we accept temporary stagnation and setbacks where necessary, but, where the possibilities for dynamic development are available, we support and encourage the acceleration of development and the exploitation of potentials. Even today the goal is to accelerate growth in many areas, such as in the utilization of scientific results, in the exploitation of creative energies, in the transformation of the production structure and in the improvement of work organization.

Thus, "curtailing the speed" is not always valid. The speed of a vehicle is influenced by the prevailing road and visibility conditions, and we may add, by specific operating costs and the driver's skill. But little progress is made by the use of the brakes alone; the gas pedal must also be pushed if we are to reach our goal. In other words, enterprises and plants which meet the high quality and efficiency requirements, whose products are in demand and are profitable can develop their production dynamically. We are placing restrictions on the development of only out of date, unprofitable products and activities.

We are mentioning these obvious relationships here because both in public opinion and in the press a bias often predominates. What is desirable--this follows from our world perspective--is that the emphasis be placed not on the phenomena of stagnation and decay, but on the progressive and forward looking processes of development. This is not necessary in order to present conditions in better light than they really are, but because we are most likely to lend a hand through the disseminating and popularizing positive examples and good experiences.

In the process of modernizing the economic direction, the latest organizational changes have aroused much interest. The reorganization affected industry the most. Several large operating enterprises were abolished, a whole series of enterprises were given independent status and the establishment of new small and medium sized enterprises was placed on the daily agenda. Those who think in extremes see in these measures the criticism of large socialist enterprises. We are now expecting the solution to our economic problems from small and medium sized enterprises as we once did from large enterprises when they predominated. Our position on this subject has been clarified, is realistic and is valid for the long range. The conditions for efficiently operating the national economy are to eliminate monopoly conditions, surpluses and shortages and the development of successful production relations and to find a healthy balance between small, medium and large enterprises. Economic units of various sizes do not replace but supplement each other.

Dispelling Misunderstandings

A question which concerns many is defining the role and place of agriculture. The tasks of this economic branch this year, just as during the whole Sixth Five-Year Plan, are rather difficult, and their resolution will require a considerable amount of effort. Our publicity efforts can best assist the development of competition in agricultural production by making useful experiences part of the common store of knowledge, and by deliberately organizing the exchange of agricultural and technical information.

Earlier, there were considerable debates and differences of opinion about the development of the supplementary role of large agricultural enterprises. Some were concerned about the industry so-called unfair competition to industry; others worried about the basic activity, agricultural production. Because today we still occasionally encounter misconceptions and reservations about supplementary enterprises, it is worthwhile to discuss these, although their socio-economic utility has been demonstrated in practice. Small and medium sized production units were created by the production cooperatives to supplement the large industrial enterprises to reduce the number of shortage items, to employ local manpower, to improve the profitability of large agricultural enterprises and to provide a means of reducing the state subsidy to unfavorably indebted production cooperatives.

The successful effects of publicity campaigns are reflected in today's public opinion, which now accepts household plots and supplementary economic units considers them natural and sees them as organic parts of large scale socialist agriculture. The maintenance of current levels and the modest increase in the production of household plots and supplementary economic units on the long range,

however, still entails a multitude of tasks in the future. Appropriate monetary incentives and a series of labor facilitating and economizing measures are necessary to maintain the incentive for production. Good social and political support are also indispensable.

Viewpoints which dispute the socialist character of work performed during free time do little good to aid the case of supplementary farming. We should not fear for the flowering of socialist culture because tens and hundreds of thousands of families in their spare time are supplementing shortages and generating assets. They are satisfying social needs, while at the same time are supplementing the activities of the large socialist enterprises. Rather than confronting work with culture, we should contrast the sensible life to purposeless wasting of time.

Here the private and family undertakings need to be mentioned. These came into existence because there were unfulfilled requirements and objective needs. The majority of these are legal, socially organized and regulated employment, but there are also invisible, concealed forms of it. But because occasionally there are negative factors adhering to this phenomena--for example, abuses or manipulations--it is inconsistent to condemn its social role.

At the current stage of our development, supplementary activities are an organic part of socialist agriculture. For quite a while, however, it was still not handled consistently. The press often approached these activities from the aspects of income and abuses. As a result, they were trapped on the level of occasional phenomena, and instead of dispelling the existing misconceptions, attitudes which opposed supplementary activities were strengthened and fostered.

It is apparent that the existing inconsistencies cannot be resolved through moralizing or administrative methods. For this reason, economic direction is endeavoring to free socially necessary and useful activities from unjustified restrictions, and as far as possible to render them visible, legal, organized and regulated. At the same time, we must definitely take action against the wild shoots and aberrant phenomena which offend lawfulness, legal order and social norms.

An important theme of economic policy's enlightening efforts is the development of foreign trade relations and the world economy situation. Many do not understand why we are developing and increasing our foreign trade relations with capitalist countries when we can sustain losses on the world market. Would it not be possible--they ask--to turn our backs to the world and to live and develop self enclosed, or to depend only upon CEMA countries?

We cannot endeavor to economic autarchy. It is evident, not only on the basis of our own, but on the basis of numerous international experiences that today there is not a single country in the world which can set itself up to be completely self sufficient. The degree of dependence upon foreign trade relations is directly proportional to a country's development level, and inversely proportional to its size. If we want to develop and not regress, we must accept the increasing role of the international division of labor.

We would cause great economic and political damage with drastic import restrictions. Of course, we need to economize with imports, especially with raw materials and energy sources. The close monitoring and encouragement of conservation are also important tasks of publicity. We are also endeavoring to substitute for imports, within the bounds of good sense. However, the chief means of eliminating difficulties in foreign trade relations is to increase competitiveness and profitability of [our] exports.

The temporarily more restricted potentialities today and in the near future, and the daily problems of cooperation cannot diminish the accomplishments and possibilities which are latent in the cooperation with CEMA countries, and among them, with our chief economic partner, the Soviet Union. This cooperation is laying the foundation for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and for our whole socio-economic program.

We Have Something to Preserve!

Finally, I wish to discuss the publicity efforts in relation to the standard of living. The preservation of the standard of living we have reached is not to be disparaged. The task is complicated and cannot be restricted to wages or income. The question is of preserving such socialist accomplishments as the assurance of life, full employment and free medical care. The rights to education and cultural development are likewise guaranteed not only by laws, but by the new mid-range economic plans, through the development of the institution system.

Our retirement system passes the test even in international comparison. The 7 or 8 new apartments per 1,000 population per year, which approximates the European average, is an achievement which must be preserved. The mentioned facts of the standard of living we have achieved, such as the high level of household mechanization, the irreversible motorization despite gasoline price increases, the one million passenger cars and the many million tourists annually all indicate that we have something to protect.

The acuteness of the tight money situation can make one truly appreciate the efforts directed towards the preservation of the standard of living. A significant portion of the population would be more likely to accept the preservation of the standard of living and appreciate the efforts which it entailed if the maintenance of the achieved level were guaranteed on a personal basis. "Do not pay me more, but do not raise the prices either." This can be heard occasionally even from exceptionally good workers.

What can we say about this?

As far as prices are concerned, we can openly state that at a time when there are great structural changes taking place both domestically and throughout the world, we cannot reduce but must increase the active, incentive role of price and wage policy. The inflexibility of prices and wages would conserve the structure of consumption and production, would prolong the imbalance, and in time would make it unbearable. We know that the possibility of higher prices and profits is stimulating producers to increase the manufacturing of items in demand, and to

produce new products. Moreover, higher prices promote thrift among consumers. Consumer price fluctuations are unavoidable in creating harmony between supply-demand even in an uninterrupted merchandise supply. Thus economic direction cannot strive for complete price stability, but only to maintain prices within realistic bounds.

The levels of merchandise supply and services are decidedly an influence on the development of the standard of living and of public morale. It is an invariable requirement that every purchasing power outlet have stable merchandise coverage. Only stable merchandise supply can guarantee the forint's integrity. Its purchasing power and uninterrupted supply. To even the inexperienced consumer, stable merchandise supply today means not only merchandise quantity, but also selection, quality and up to dateness.

Perspectives and Action

We profess with certainty that socialism and the community of workers creates the most favorable conditions for the evolution of human capacities. Our goal is to realize the principle "each according to his capabilities, each according to his labor." Thus in this sense, our publicity is viewing performance centered behavior as its model. The healthy, able bodied individual who is full of complaints, grievances and expects all solutions from society, who is unable to better his own lot cannot be our ideal.

Of course, our ideal also cannot be the individual who views his work goals as the mere pursuit of material gain. However, we must give the green light to the one who desires to enrich his family and society through hard, honest work and even if it means sacrificing his free time. The one who attempts to succeed through manipulation and at the expense of others should not be given elbow room (Lebensraum).

Economic and political leadership and publicity campaigns must support the good and outstanding workers and the people with initiative. We need an atmosphere in which the leading workers are respected, are heard and are the models of every workplace.

It is a clear cut task to speak about the necessity of enterprise democracy, not in general terms, but as a modern, concrete requirement placed on modern, effective, independent enterprise management. The so often mentioned proprietary sense of responsibility can only be expected of employees if the director himself manages the activities and destiny of the collective in his care as an owner, a caring proprietor, and protects the socialist property not as a keeper of wealth, but by increasing it through initiative and the acceptance of risks and responsibilities.

Today's social, economic and political conditions are increasingly favoring performance centered management which equally serves the interests of both the collective and the national economy. It is important that the leaders who act with expertise, responsibility and consistency be supported with the backing of publicity. We should support them in their risk taking, in the stabilization of order and work discipline and in the development of successful work.

It has often been stated and written that the importance of the human factor has increased. Today's epoch and society places many requirements on the individual. From among these--as far as we are concerned--the kind of social awareness which makes people able to comprehend and understand the new situation and the new requirements for development is important. This awareness needs to be gained through experience and complete identification, and not through cold objectivity and detachment. It is very difficult to achieve this in a rapidly changing world, and is only possible through action, through the process of creation, when we are actually shaping and forming the world, not merely observing it.

Our information policy is serving the formation and maintenance of such social awareness. This is what the party's publicity campaign and information efforts are promoting, and what the organs of mass communications are serving.

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CSO: 2500/223

'LE MONDE' EXAMINES IMPLICATIONS OF CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI'S DEATH

LD020959 Paris LE MONDE in French 30 May 81 p 1

[Editorial: "End of an Era in Poland"]

[Text] The death of Cardinal Wyszynski who, as Primate of Poland, managed to stand up to the communist government for 33 years while showing moderation when the State's interests required it, is arousing great emotion in Poland and abroad.

Cardinal Wyszynski, a true statesman to the end, left no moral will. New answers will be necessary for new times, he had told a member of his entourage. The answers which he had embodied--those of resistance to uniformization, and the struggle for democracy--are now old-fashioned. Whether the renewal launched by the strikes in August 1980 slowly flourishes or is crushed by tanks, nothing will be the same again--especially the [Catholic] Church which is now no longer the only embodiment of the country's aspirations. The Church-State bipolarization, which has been so useful to the authorities recently when it was necessary to calm people when feelings were running high, is now over.

Whoever he is, Monsignor Wyszynski's successor will probably no longer combine the jobs of Primate and chairman of the Episcopal Conference. Moreover, he will not be possessed of prestige built up over some 33 years. He will be one of the main protagonists on the Polish stage--but there will be others; and if there is a need for a higher authority, it will not be found in Warsaw but in Rome, with Pope John-Paul II, the former Archbishop of Krakow.

Workers, peasants and white-collar workers now have their trade unions. The United Workers' Party is changing. A frenzied poker game has replaced the slow chess game between the Primate and successive first secretaries. Cardinal Wyszynski's death, of course, creates a great vacuum but since last summer's strikes and the creation of Solidarity, the country's future has moved from the hands of the man whom all Poles are mourning to the hands of all of Poland's inhabitants. It is because they are now facing this fact that their sadness is mixed with a little anxiety.

After the 4-day truce for mourning, which will end on Sunday, politics will come into its own again. Inside the country, where the economic situation is constantly deteriorating, the battle is raging with 6 weeks to go before the party congress.

A faction of hardliners in the leadership, led by Mr Olszowski, is showing itself in its true light and is talking of the "mobilization of healthy forces" to put an end to all the tendencies toward renewal and bring first the party and then the country back to strict Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy.

From the outside where the Warsaw Pact allies are lying in wait for Poland like a cat for a mouse, and more specifically in TRUD, the Soviet Trade Union daily, you can read this Friday 29 May that it was a "mistake" to authorize the creation of the Solidarity Independent Trade Union, which was become a mass organization, and to criticize the official trade unions--"the party's faithful allies."

C80: 3100/771

POLASD

OPOLE VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM REPORTAGE NOTED

Common Language Needed

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 3, 1961 pp 16-17

[Article by Piotr Musiewicz; passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The aim of the nearly 10-hour plenary session of the /PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Opole/ was to find a concrete answer to the question how to improve the effectiveness of the process of socialist renewal. In the report of the KW first secretary, Comrade Jozef Maany and in speeches by 20 speakers, the most important matters were recognized to be those of restoring the Leninist norms of party life, purging the party ranks of compromised and incompetent people, and also acting to stimulate the activeness of party members, and regaining the confidence of our society in the party and its programs.

I will dwell on only three issues from among many which were raised at the plenum: the party's internal problems, the party's attitude toward the labor movement, and economic problems.

Recently, in the party organizations of Opole Voivodship, the attitudes of many comrades were subjected to severe criticism. /Eighty-one persons were expelled from the party, and 2,370 persons turned in their party cards./ Since the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee there have been 63 persons' changes in leadership positions: 14 persons have been removed because of nonfulfillment of their official duties and inability to meet current requirements; 27 persons have been removed for misusing their official positions for personal gain, and for other offenses of moral nature. The Voivodship Party Control Commission (WKKP) is conducting investigations of 33 persons employed in leadership positions; similar investigations are being conducted by an NIK [Supreme Board of Control] group. The disposition of the cases of the leadership cadre should be completed by March of this year.

The period of preparation for the Ninth Party Congress--as the speakers emphasized--stimulated constructive thinking about the party's role in the nation's life, and about the place of the party basic organization [POB] in the workplace and in a community. "We used to make mistakes, Comrade C. Kaniowski said, "because we made decisions concerning details. The party should establish general principles." Comrade Z. Niedzielski stated that it is indispensable for the party to set [overall] strategy but that a whole system of couplings is needed here. Let us

speak frankly: inefficiently functioning mechanisms of socialist democracy still do exist; instead of an election there is cooptation; instead of critical evaluation we have approval; information has been replaced by propaganda manipulation. The party's credibility can and must be based on concrete actions only; today, words alone will no longer suffice.

In many organizations of Opole Voivodship the character of meetings, the direction of interests, and the content of discussions have changed. In place of emotional introspections which predominated until recently, /there is ever increasing development of discussion topics expressing concern for the future of the party and of our country and for correct development of processes of socialist renewal. Numerous resolutions, motions, and proposals are being received by the Voivodship Committee, by basic-level echelons, by the Voivodship Group for the Ninth Party Congress, and also directly by the Congress Commission. The activeness in the party is aided also by a reporting campaign in all POP and, through the initiative of many POP, by an election reporting campaign. It is precisely at meetings that party members demand--as Comrade I. Kaplon has stated--thorough familiarization with the argumentation of our adversaries. "Without arguments," Comrade T. Slowik added, "nobody has won a political battle yet."

"What has made our sons seemingly turn against us?" This was the dramatic question asked by Comrade H. Kosidlo. "This generation has spoken up in a voice which we were unable to understand at first. Today, the confrontation is continuing through the method of dialogue. Up to now it has been a dialogue of inter-entention, and yet we should look in it for /what unites and not what divides us./ Are our sons against us?! Why do our arguments fail to convince them? Why are we not called by them to be their advisors? We should not view our society in an impersonal way; we have to know its problems and from what its world outlook is derived."

In Opole Voivodship, the movement favoring Solidarity has been developing unevenly and diversely. The majority of units in this movement base their activity on agreements concluded by them and on their own charters. They initiated proper cooperation with the administration of the plants. Gradually they also began to establish contact with party and social organizations. This cooperation is not without conflicts but it is within the framework of the law and of socialist legality. It has already brought about constructive solutions. However, control of some units of Solidarity was gained by anarchizing elements which are directing the movement toward political opposition.

The appointment of the so-called Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners by the Political Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity is of a political or even provocative character. The result of the activity of this "Committee" are leaflets, posters, and articles distributed all over the voivodship and demanding the release of activists of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN). Attempts are being made to treat as political prisoners the Kowalczyk brothers, who have been imprisoned for destroying the Higher Party School (WSP) auditorium in Opole.

The Voivodship Committee aktiv in Opole does not want to evaluate Solidarity on the basis of incidents. /We should accept and support what is right and what is a result of the aspirations and desires of the working class./ But, as shown

by elections of the authorities of Solidarity which are being held at present in the Opole area plants, they have become for some persons a platform for politicking and an opportunity to settle personal accounts and to disregard the principles of democracy.

It is a question of the labor union movement, despite differences and divisions, favoring the creation of an atmosphere of responsibility for work and for the social climate. Hence /the special responsibility of the members and candidate members of our party who are active in the labor union movement./

Nearly all the speakers referred in their speeches to the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee and to the most recent session of the Sejm, basing their hopes for a radical change in all areas of life on decisions which had been made. The Sejm speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski was received as an augury of a quick solution of most urgent problems and efficient functioning of all the organs of the state's authority.

This is important for the Opole area, where last year's production losses in industry were over 240 million zlotys, and where in January of this year the value of production was 300 million zlotys less than during an analogous period a year ago. These results, to a certain extent, were caused by difficulties with the supply of materials, but of decisive importance was the decrease in the tempo of work and also the loosening of discipline. Frequently, discussions of new demands were substituted for work.

At the plenum, it was demanded that the governor of Opole Voivodship prepare a list of the most urgent problems requiring solution. Similar lists should be prepared by heads of municipalities and gminas. There should be consultation about these programs with the trade unions and submitted for approval to the executive bodies of party echelons and to presidiums of people's councils. It was also proposed to appoint a voivodship group for the solution of disputed problems.

(Linking the local administration more closely with organs of representation and also with the self-government of the inhabitants of villages and cities is an urgent task/. It is necessary to make more use of motions and demands concerning elimination of irregularities in the work of offices, institutions, and economic units. Today, as Comrade H. Kesidjo stated at the plenum, voivodship administration must manage directly as many as 63 units. Personnel changes are being made at the highest administrative levels, but renewal is being obstructed most frequently by the middle levels which are too many in relation to our needs.

One of the most important tasks in the field of agriculture is /restoration of authentic self-government in the rural area/. Rural self-government should solve fairly and effectively many social and economic problems, coordinate the raising of professional skills, and favor progress in farm production.

In all the villages, open meetings of POP and United Peasant Party [ZSL] branches were held, followed by report and election meetings in all the agricultural production groups. /The new statute was accepted by 802 agricultural production groups out of 811 existing ones/. The next stage of the re-activation of rural

self-government were the gmina conferences of agricultural groups and organizations. Despite lively campaigning by activists of the illegal Rural Solidarity, associations of agricultural groups and organizations were formed in 60 gminas. Only in Glubczyce has it not been yet possible to organize a gmina association. /No economic system, even a most perfect one, can replace work/--as was stated at the plenum while the chances of implanting the new economic reform were being considered. An urgent task for the party organizations of the trade unions, as well as for the Polish Economic Society (PTE), is to make the reform's assumptions widely known. We need to explain to the work crews, with concrete examples, what constitutes the relationship between work efficiency and earnings. We also have to continue the process of renewal of management cadres, creating opportunities for young and nonparty people to take on work in positions of responsibility./

The Opole party organization plenum has reaffirmed that the party, if it wants to lead the nation, must prove itself through the high caliber and complete unity of all the party ranks, and must find a common language with all those who have real concern for the good of our country.

Report on Plenum Deliberations

Opole TRYBUNA ODRZANSKA in Polish 17 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by R. Augustyn: "Party Activeness Is a Guarantee of Socialist Renewal"; Passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Opole deliberated for nearly 10 hours yesterday. The aim of these deliberations was to transfer the concepts of the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee to the forthcoming everyday tasks of all the party members in our voivodship, to activate units and echelons, and to consolidate ranks. Detailed proposals concerning these tasks and the methods of implementing them are contained in a report by the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, Jozef Masny (a summary of his report is published on p 3)/

The report was followed by a lengthy debate, a brief discussion of which is published on p 3, while we promise our readers to discuss amply the problems which were raised at it. Twenty members of the Voivodship Committee [KW] and invited guests took part in the debate. Toward its end, the director of the Department of Trade and Finance of the PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Gebala, took the floor. He presented to those attending the most essential party tasks arising from the stipulations of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee; he discussed the current political situation in our country, and he outlined the principle conditions of economic difficulties being experienced at present; he also outlined the main goals of the preparation for the Extraordinary Party Congress, which--as he affirmed--should convince our society that we have sufficient strength, will power, and skill to establish in our country the social law and order without which any socialist renewal is out of the question.

In accordance with a newly accepted custom, information on the activity of the KW secretariat and executive body since last plenum was also presented to those attending. Also, the following information was supplied in written form to the members of the KW: a report of the Commission for Resolutions and Motions concerning the implementation of motions submitted at the preceding plenum; information on the work of the voivodship group for matters concerning motions being submitted before the Ninth PZPR Congress; a report of the Voivodship Audit Commission on the implementation of the budget of KW; information on the implementation of the resolutions of the sixth and seventh plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, and a plan of political and organizational action in Opole Voivodship after the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee. Information was also given about the range of topics for KW plenary sessions which have been planned for the current year. We will continue our discussion of these written documents in the next few days.

Next, motions concerning the cadre were considered. The following persons were removed from the roster of KW deputy members: Helena Osiańczak and Mieczysław Staszewski, who had turned in their party membership cards with a request that their names be deleted from the roster of party members. Piotr Dybala, manager of the Coking Plant in Zdzeszowice, was removed from the roster of the KW Executive Body, while continuing to be a member of the plenum until the termination of the current investigation of his activities. The charges against him include, among other things, improper disposition of the awards fund. From this fund, large bonuses were paid, e.g., to managers of the Delivery Vehicle Factory in Nysa for selling delivery vehicles to the Coking Plant (those managers have already been dismissed from their positions). Such a bonus was also collected by the manager of FAMAK in Kluczbork, Horst Stanečko, member of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP]; consequently, the plenum recommended that an investigation of his activities be initiated and its results reported at the next meeting of the KW. It was resolved to make a decision concerning Henryk Szopinski, a KW member and chairman of the Voivodship Consumers Cooperative [WSS] Społem, after completion of the hospital treatment which he is undergoing at present. The charges against him include, among other things, using WSS funds to finance the construction of a summer cottage for L. Lokka, former chairlady of the central board of Społem. Roman Jarawka, manager of the Blachownia Chemical Plant in Kędzierzyn-Koźle, was removed from the KW roster. He himself presented a motion to this effect, informing those attending that although the Supreme Board of Control [NIK] had not discovered any evidence of malfeasance or misuse with regard to the house being built by him, nevertheless he had been charged with committing offenses of a formal legal nature in the allotment of construction materials for his employees.

Changes were also made in the cadre of the Commission for Complaints and Motions. As a result of its vice chairman, Janusz Gaze, having accepted a position on the Katowice KW, his position on the commission was filled by Włodzimierz Malec, head of the chancellery of the first secretary of [Opole] KW. To the commission were also appointed Eugeniusz Erdinast and Eugeniusz Moszynski.

The deliberations ended with adopting the resolution whose text we will publish in tomorrow's issue.

/Discussion of the debate is found on p 3/

Excerpts of Masny Address

Opole TRYBUNA ODRZANSKA in Polish 17 Feb 81 p 3

[Excerpts from address by Jozef Masny, Opole KW first secretary; passages with a slantline printed in boldface]

[Text] /The basic task for our party organization which follows from a resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, is continuing the process of socialist renewal, as well as working to activate party forces and to normalize our social and economic life. These instructions, in accordance with the feeling of the majority of party members, are expressed at meetings, as well as in letters and resolutions. Restoration of the Leninist norms of party life, purging compromised and incompetent people from party ranks, is the basic condition for mobilizing our party ranks, stimulating the activeness of our party members, and gaining full confidence of our society in our party and its program. We expect today's plenum to give an answer to the question of what to do in order to intensify the process of socialist renewal. No party member and no party organization can remain outside this process. We are convinced that in this action there will be no lack of people with common sense, of all kinds of patriots, of members of fraternal political parties, trade unions, of youth, of nonparty people, of believers and nonbelievers.

The strength of the party depends on the quality and cohesion of party ranks. We want our party to be composed of people who are idea-minded and honest, who are fighting for the cause of socialism, and who fulfill conscientiously their obligations toward the state, society, and family. Our statute defines this clearly./

Recently, in a number of party organizations, the attitudes of many comrades were subjected to severe criticism and, simultaneously, appropriate personnel decisions were made. Eighty-one persons were expelled from the party, and 2,370 persons turned in their party membership cards. However, we realize, and this is confirmed by meetings and pronouncements of the aktiv, that we still have not completed purging our voivodship party organization. In many cases of party cards having been turned in, the basic party organizations [POP] have not made final decisions. These matters have to be brought to an end as soon as possible. The Voivodship Party [KW] Control Commission is currently investigating 33 persons who are employed in managerial positions; similar investigations are being conducted by the NIK [Supreme Board of Control] group. Decisions in these matters will be made regularly, and the disposition of all the cases ought to be completed by 31 March 1981.

In the period following the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee there were personnel changes in 63 managerial positions, including the dismissal of 14 persons for nonfulfillment of official duties, for having misused their official positions for personal purposes, and for having committed offenses against ethics and morality.

Both the aktiv and our society frequently point out the fact that our society feels that in our voivodship's party and administrative leadership positions there are still too many people who fear any change in the existing system of leadership and management. We should realize, however, that the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] alone will not bring about renewal in our cadre. This is a task for all basic-level party organizations and echelons.

The period of preparation for the Ninth Party Congress has stimulated in the ranks constructive thinking about the party's role in the nation's life, about its performance of its leadership function, and about the place of the POP in a workplace and in a community. In many party organizations, there has been a change in the character of meetings, in the direction of interests and in the content of discussions. In place of emotional soul-searching which still predominated quite recently, new discussion topics express concern for the future of the party and of our country and for correct development of processes of socialist renewal. Numerous resolutions, motions, and proposals are being received by KW, POP, the Voivodship Group for Motions for the Ninth Party Congress and also directly by the Congress Commission.

Most of the motions submitted by party members so far are justified, and we must be thorough and consistent in implementing all proposals which are feasible under present conditions, thus breaking down bureaucratic barriers, old habits, or patterns of mental opportunism in one's activity.

We must improve and change the style and methods of party action. This has been aided by a reporting campaign in all POP and also, on the initiative of many POP, an election-reporting campaign.

An important aspect of our party work continues to be development of party ranks. Despite the current period being so difficult for the party, work in this area has not been neglected in many organizations. In the last 4 months we have accepted relatively few candidates. This results, among other things, from the fact that some party organizations ceased to be concerned with matters of party development. We expect all the POP to take up this problem, applying high criteria as regards quality to new members.

The situation which has developed in the trade union movement in recent months requires an honest appraisal of the essence and character of the changes which are occurring within it. The new trade union movement, particularly Solidarity, was to the workers, in the moment of its formation, an organization which was able to represent and defend their interests better than the previous trade unions. Hence also the large influx of members into the new organization, including also members of our party. At present, the majority of employees in the socialized economy in our voivodship are members of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity.

From its beginning, this movement has been developing unevenly and diversely. Most Solidarity organizations base their activity on negotiated agreements and on their own statute. They initiated proper cooperation with plant administration. Gradually they established contact also with party and social organizations. This cooperation is not totally smooth and without conflicts, but is within the framework of socialist law and legality. This cooperation has

already brought about constructive solutions. However, some Solidarity units have been taken over by anarchy-prone elements which are directing this movement toward becoming a political opposition party.

Particularly dangerous is the fact that many Solidarity units transcend the bounds of their statute and of accepted commitments by presenting a whole list of political demands. The appointing of a Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners is of a political or plainly provocative character. The results of the activity of this "committee" are leaflets, posters and articles which are being distributed all over our voivodship and which demand freeing the arrested activists of the Confederation for Independent Poland. Attempts are being made to treat typical saboteurs like the Kowalczyk brothers, imprisoned for blowing up the Higher Party School (WSP) auditorium in Opole, as political prisoners. A question also arises: What is the connection between trade union activity and gathering data on so-called "persons who were mistreated during police [MO] interrogations?" This is an open call for rebellion against organs of public order. Through the efforts of the same "commission," a publication entitled LEGALITY was prepared, of conspicuously antistate, antisocialist and anti-Soviet character, and published illegally.

The party KW does not intend to evaluate this movement on the basis of events and tensions. We are fully aware that it has contributed many positive traits of social animation and of acting out of concern for social and everyday problems of working people, and we as a party should accept and support what is right and results from the aspirations of the working class. We speak about these matters, because party members rightly demand that we begin the battle for the trade union and socialist character of Solidarity, in accordance with the intent and letter of the agreements and the aspirations of the majority of those people who formed the new unions and joined them. Also, we firmly oppose the initiation of any actions which aim to nullify the decisions of directors and department heads.

The Solidarity election campaign, which has been going on for 3 months already, has had considerable influence on the morale of the work forces of plants in Opole Voivodship. In many plants, it is being conducted in accordance with the publicized slogans of democracy and of tolerance of opinions. It is there that authentic representatives of the work forces--workers who are respected and trusted by their milieu--are elected to positions of union authorities. However, there are many examples which prove that the election has become, for some members of Solidarity, a platform for politicking, antiparty and anti-government bidding for votes, and an opportunity to settle personal grudges and disregard the principles of democracy and the voting regulations of this trade union.

In Opole Voivodship, industrial sector unions are active and their organization is growing in strength. Their work is being coordinated by the Voivodship Consultative Committee for Industrial Sector (Branzowe) Unions. These unions are now going through a very difficult period. In many plants, their councils have been depleted and overwhelmed by total criticism and negation of their achievement. The process of their regeneration is too slow and not always effective. However, there is no lack of examples of self-sacrificing, energetic and effective work in many establishments, particularly in commerce

and in communal economy, and in some units of health service and educational system. Nevertheless, there is lack of closer cooperation between trade unions, and where such cooperation does exist it is mostly limited to financial agreements and mutual tolerance. This situation should not continue to exist, because, first of all, it is detrimental to the interests of the work forces. What matters is that the trade union movement, despite essential differences and divisions, is pursuing one set of common goals.

Of utmost urgency for party echelon, organizations and members continues to be the creation of political conditions which favor socialist renewal; in the course of the latter, an independent and self-governing trade union movement ought to become a stable element in the socialist structure of our society.

Particular responsibility rests with members and candidate members of our party who are active in the trade union movement. Loyalty to the idea of socialism should be evidenced in the opposition of party members to any manifestations of infringement of socialist legality and, even more so, in their opposition to manifestations of anarchy and hostile activity.

Party members and candidate members should absolutely refuse to participate in strikes which are organized under political slogans. There can be no compromise between party duties and discipline on the one hand, and trade union discipline on the other, where reasons of socialism are involved. The activity of party members in trade unions can in no way limit the independence and the inspiration-and-control functions of the POP in a plant. Nobody has deprived the POPs of the right and duty to draw attention to activities of some Solidarity members which are contrary to the interests of socialist Poland.

However, it would be a mistake to blame solely the anarchizing elements of Solidarity for the current social and economic situation. There are still many examples of shortcomings and sluggishness in party and administrative activity. A portion of the cadre, without examining the validity of the union demands, opposes them in advance and slows down their implementation. The leadership cadre must take the initiative and anticipate facts rather than initiate action under pressure. There are already many examples of problems which have been taken up many times and which have remained unsolved up to now, as, if only to mention, the use of factory buses for public transportation, or the adaptation of the business hours of health service, administration, and public services to the needs of citizens.

The situation in the youth movement of Opole Voivodship is difficult and complex. It reflects, first of all, the state of mind of the young generation, as well as the enormous contrast between long-awakened aspirations and the harsh reality of today's life. The decline of authentic ideological work, so palpably evident in recent years, and the virtual helplessness of the young generation with regard to many negative social phenomena, are exacting their painful toll today. A natural reaction to this situation is mistrust and criticism of existing methods of work and of the structure of organizations.

In the current situation in the youth movement of decisive importance is strengthening the units of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. Positive changes

are occurring in its program; the authenticity and self-governing character of its activities are being restored.

In the whole activity of the party we will strive to meet the most vital needs and aspirations of the young generation. We must accelerate housing construction, as well as construction of day-care centers and nursery schools; we must accelerate helping young married couples; we must create opportunities for advancement for young and capable people.

A task which local administration is facing in the current situation is, first of all, tying it more closely to the organs of representation and to the self-government of inhabitants of towns and villages. Favorable conditions should be created for strengthening the role of national councils and self-government organizations; proper use should be made of motions demanding elimination of irregularities in the work of offices, institutions, and economic units.

We regard this process as still too slow. There are many complaints of citizens about still occurring tardiness, formalism, and bureaucracy in solving human problems. Many office heads would like to control the organs of representation instead of performing an executive role.

There is a need to revise the present structure of existing enterprises and establishments of communal and housing management through restoration of powers in this area to national councils and to local organs of basic-level administration.

For many months now, in Opole Voivodship there has been intensified activity of MRP, NIE, MO, prosecutor's office, and courts. This has brought about an increase in detectability of infringements of the law. The number of economic offenses is decreasing, while there is an increase in the magnitude of discovered losses and in the degree of bribe-taking and paid protection.

Party organizations must make use of materials of party control apparatus in their work, in their evaluation of the efficiency and effectiveness of the activity of management cadre.

From the jointly prepared position of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and of the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party (NK ZSL) it follows unequivocally that the basic criterion of the evaluation of an economic unit, regardless of the sector to which it belongs, is and will be its contribution to the economy of our country and its economic results.

In the current year, one of the basic tasks for the socialized sector will be to prevent the occurrence of situations favoring the existence, in our neighborhood, of state farms or cooperatives which suffer losses and have deficits. In situations in which the socialized sector is unable to manage the farmland, gmin party committees together with units of rural self-government will define the manner in which it should be managed efficiently. The survey of all these farmlands should be completed by the deadline of the end of March 1981.

One of the most important tasks for the party and for the state administration in the field of agriculture is resumption of genuine self-government activities in

the rural areas of Opole Voivodship. Rural self-government should solve justly and effectively many social and economic problems. It should render help to the needy, organize the raising of professional skills, and favor progress in maximally increasing agricultural production.

Since last November, we have been carrying on, in the rural areas of Opole Voivodship, social and political activity aimed at publicizing the position of the Political Bureau of PZPR Central Committee and of the Presidium of the NE ZSL. In all the villages, open meetings of POP and of ZSL circles have been held, followed by election report meetings in all the agricultural producer circles. At these meetings there were also discussions of the new statute of an agricultural producer circle which in its new form guarantees that the organization will be an authentic self-governing representative of farmers' interests. The new statute has been accepted by 802 of 821 existing agricultural producer cooperatives.

The next stage of the reactivation of rural self-government were gmina conferences of agricultural producer circles and organizations. Not infrequently, those meetings were held in an atmosphere of fierce political battle. Representatives of so-called Rural Solidarity tried to undermine the authenticity of the rebirth of agricultural producer circle activities. There were instances of activities of these circles being intimidated and threatened. Despite an animated agitation campaign by activists of Illegal Rural Solidarity, gmina associations of agricultural circles and organizations were established in 60 gminas. Only in one instance, in Glubczyce, was a gmina association not organized.

The stormy months of last year and the first months of this year had a negative impact on production results in many plants. Last year, production losses in industry amounted to over 230 million zlotys. In January of this year, the value of industrial production was over 300 million less than in an analogous period of last year. The total turnover in the construction industry was 570 million zlotys less. To some extent, these results were brought about by increased difficulties in obtaining supplies of materials.

Reduced work rate and slackening discipline and dutifulness were important contributory factors in the decrease of production. In many plants, work was replaced by discussions of new demands. All that happened even after the signing of social agreements, when the just demands of the employees had already been implemented in those momentous acts.

The decreased tempo of work quickly brought about decreased standards of living; the results of the strikes are having a negative impact on all elements of our economy. If these trends continue, they can bring about further disorganization and gradual cessation of the rhythm of work of our factories.

We are convinced that the population of Opole Voivodship will lend support, by working efficiently, to the appeal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Wojciech Jaruzelski, for 90 days of good, peaceful, and efficient work. Let us give the government time to attend to speedier solution of many complex problems. Let us do the same in our area. The Opole governor should prepare a list of the most urgent problems whose solutions will be implemented in our voivodship during this period.

identical proposals for utilizing the next 3 months will be prepared by gmina and town heads. There should be consultation about these programs with the trade unions and they should be accepted by the executive boards of party echelons and presidiums of national councils.

We are proposing to examine the advisability of appointing a voivodship group for the solution of all the disputed problems in our voivodship. This group should include representatives of the party echelon, the trade unions and the state administration.

It is only in an atmosphere of productive work that we can attend to the implementation of long-awaited economic reforms, and to the restoration of authentic workers self-government and democracy in our society's life.

We anticipate particularly great results from the implementation of the economic reform. We have to thoroughly acquaint the working people with the basic assumptions underlying these changes in managing our economy; we have to explain to the work forces, in concrete terms, the relationship between work effectiveness and earnings.

We expect the party and trade union organizations, the administration, and also Polish Economics Society, to be active participants in the implementation of economic reform. One should realize, however, that not even an entirely perfect economic system can replace work.

Economic reform and greater independence of enterprises create new work conditions for the social and political leadership aktiv of enterprises and for economic administration. It will require great knowledge, experience and the confidence of work collectives. We are and will be thoroughly consistent in carrying out the process of renovation of the management cadre. We have and will create opportunities also for young, nonparty people and members of political parties to begin working in responsible positions.

The odds favoring the economy of our voivodship are the enormous potential of qualifications and experience and considerable production assets. Our enterprises have been already partly freed from excessive directives and limitations. Time is growing ever more ripe for creative thinking, for courage, professional knowledge and consistency. We urge the working people to consider, wherever possible in this enormously difficult situation, what they can do in order to protect the living standard of our society. Let every employee, team, production department, and work force do every day what their duty and the plan require of them. Let them simultaneously consider whether it is possible to produce something above the norm and to save energy and raw materials. The affluence of a society is the result of work; we have to strive in order to increase, as much as possible, the quantity and effects of this work, and also the quantity of merchandise and services, under conditions which we can afford.

We appeal to the nearly 90,000-strong voivodship party organization. Let us, through our example, spur our whole society on to intensified work.

/We appeal to workers, engineers, farmers, to all the working people of our voivodship, and to youth--let us do everything in order to make good use of worktime and of production materials and capacities.

/This is a patriotic duty, a moral dictate, and the greatest need to be helped which our socialist Fatherland expects of us.

/The patriotic traditions of the inhabitants of our Opole Voivodship, industriousness and conscientiousness, are the best guarantee that through active work we will declare our willingness to support the socialist renewal./

Summary of Discussions

Opole TRYBUNA GOSPODARSTWA in Polish : 7 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by M. Baran, summarizing discussions at PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum]

[Text] During the discussion at yesterday's plenum of the Voivodship Committee [KW], 20 persons took the floor. Nearly all currently vital social, economic and political problems were brought up, and, because the main topic of deliberations was the activation of party cells and members, all problems were spoken about in the context of the attitudes of party members and the activity of its cells. Besides discussion of internal party problems there was also discussion of problems of action in trade unions and among youth, and postulates were formulated regarding party schooling and information flow. Many speakers also returned to the causes of the present crisis while seeking a program which would stabilize and normalize the situation today and which would prevent distortions tomorrow.

Ninety Days of Calm

Nearly all the speakers referred in their speeches to the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the last session of the Sejm, expressing in this connection their hopes for an improvement in almost all areas of life. There was plain talk about overcoming the crisis (Jan Broniewicz), and also about the already prevailing atmosphere of detente and relief which everybody had been anxiously waiting for. (Barbara Witek).

The Sejm speech by the new premier, Wojciech Jaruzelski, was received as an augury of not only effective restoration of order but also as an augury of speedy solution of all problems and, from that time on, of already peaceful functioning of all the state systems.

Tadeusz Slowik: Frequent changes in decisions create an impression of weakness of authority. We have been waiting for General Jaruzelski for a long time.

Tadeusz Slowik also discussed the difficult, catastrophic situation of the hospital in Gostyń, and he ended his reflections thus: the Premier's announcement gives us hope.

At yesterday's plenums there were quite a few such hopes, related to the eighth plenum and the changes in the government--hopes for solution to concrete as well as more general problems.

Credibility

All who brought up this issue were in agreement on one point: the basis for the credibility of the party and of its authorities can only be concrete deeds; words will not suffice. (Roman Pillardy).

Credibility must be built up by, among other things, an efficient system of information flow, both inside the party and in our entire society. We need telling of plain truth; we also demand that the press report about antisocialist forces--a worker himself, can draw his own conclusions. (Stanislawa Kaniowska).

The party's credibility must be also built up on the basis of its consistency of action. What we agree on must be implemented; specific people must be responsible for concrete problems and must be held accountable for them. (Stanislawa Kaniowska).

Credibility is the first condition for restoration of confidence in the party, but reflections on the present situation are also necessary if the party is to regain the trust and approval of our society--among others, Jan Goczal spoke on this subject:

"The new generation's formation which created Solidarity has been heard from. This generation has spoken up in a voice which we at first were unable to understand. Today, confrontation is continuing through the method of dialogue, this dialogue can be constructive because it is not only the exertion of pressure but also the weighing of reasons. Today it is still an intervention dialogue, and we have to look in it for what unites and not what divides us. What has seemingly turned our sons against us?--we must answer this question for ourselves. Why are they not convinced by our arguments but by those of our adversaries? Why do they not call us to be their advisers? We cannot take an impersonal view of our society. We have to get to know their problems, what their world outlook consists of and where it is derived from. It is only after deciding these matters that we can again become the leading force."

It is being said that the administration is too large numerically, but we have to remember that state administration was constantly reduced but the economic administration grew. Today the voivodship administration must directly administer as many as 63 units. Today personnel changes are being made at the highest levels, but renewal is usually hampered by the middle levels of administration of which we have too many for our needs. (Henryk Kosidlo).

Inside the Party

Internal party matters were discussed in their two basic aspects: with regard to the basic cells and individual members and also the manner in which the party functions.

We made mistakes because we made decisions regarding details. The party should set general policies and should not be concerned with details at executive meetings and at plenums. (Stanislawa Kaniowska).

We must improve the quality of our ranks. We are holding talks. We have expelled 16 persons from the party; there are still more people who will have to give up their party membership. (Stanislaw Gmur).

Problems of world outlook should be defined uniformly in our party. Up to now they used to be relegated to the background. (R. Sielanczyk).

Strategy must be set by the party, but a whole system of couplings is needed here. Things began to go wrong when the party began to be identified with bureaucracy. Mechanisms of socialist democracy operated ineffectively: instead of election there was cooptation; self-evaluation replaced evaluation, and propaganda manipulation was substituted for information. Personal identification is harmful; the entire blame is put on a few dissidents, and, after all, personal changes are not everything. The crisis was not caused only by bad leadership, and did not arise only from that overzealousness which had been made into a virtue. The only party that can lead is one that heads progressive forces. (Zdzislaw Niedzielski).

Trade Unions

Nearly every speaker defined his attitude toward the situation in the trade union movement by supporting his statements with examples. A considerable portion of discussion time was devoted to Solidarity, and, more precisely, to its extremist and radical factions. Solidarity was spoken about as being a stable element of our reality with which we have to cooperate in solving many problems, while we also have to prevent the domination of this movement by people who dislike the party or are hostile to it. In this context, the problem of effectiveness of party action was also brought up.

Often times we are unable to take care of many matters, but Solidarity members only have to stamp their feet and it is done. This just cannot be. (Stanislawa Kaniowska).

In the fringes of Solidarity membership are those who are swimming with the tide but who are not at all concerned with the workers' interests. There are not many of them but they are vociferous. (Teodor Slowik).

Solidarity is often identified with hostility to the party, but I would be afraid of such formulations. One cannot build on such assertions. We must treat Solidarity as a trade union, because we will not help our cause if we treat this movement as a political adversary. (Ryszard Sielanczyk).

Solidarity was not the only topic of discussion at the plenum; much attention was devoted to industrial sector unions.

Our party's activity is operating in the industrial sector unions. Since the activities of Solidarity in the area of social matters are negligible, I foresee

the return of many people to industrial sector unions. These unions are again gaining strength. (Stanislaw Gmur).

For the last 3 months, we in the industrial sector unions fought for survival and we were fought against within the scope of renewal and democracy. Our activity was not facilitated either by administrative decisions or by accusations from party tribunes. We have ceased to be and we will no longer let anybody make us a scapegoat. (Zdzislaw Michulec).

In all the speeches it was asserted that the duty of party members is to implement party policy regardless of what trade union one belongs to.

Arguments

The discussants put particularly strong emphasis on the necessity of better informing party members and rearming them ideologically. There was talk about the need to upgrade party courses so that every party member would be able not only to evaluate phenomena independently in a Marxist spirit but also to argue against views which are hostile to party and socialism. The problem of political arguments was, besides, treated more broadly.

We should recall the traditions of this region as a cementing and unifying factor. The bitter truth is: Where are the grandsons of insurgents, of activists of the Union of Poles in Germany [ZPN]? We will not find any of them to be counted here on the 60th anniversary of the third [Silesian] insurrection. This is one of the greatest tragedies of our history. It is not only a tragedy of the original local population but of all those who in our history have been objects and not subjects of political action. Why did economic arguments sound more convincing than any other arguments to those who were leaving? If we are to be trustworthy, we cannot pretend that some problem does not exist. We must know it perfectly. (Jan Gogol).

We have to make our information system more effective; without weapons and arguments nobody has won a battle yet. (Teodor Slowik).

They do not listen to us, because we are poorly prepared for argumentation. We have to bring about, on an emergency basis, verification of the lectures' cadre--these people must meet today's requirements and, simultaneously, they must have a steady flow of reliable information. We should also make better use of information supplied by lecturers who travel to local areas--this is a way to have continuous evaluation of social moods. (Jerzy Januszek)

Party members should be thoroughly familiar with party documents and should also know documents of potential adversaries. We have to return to the [party] statute. Today the statute is discussed only in courses for party candidates, and that is simply not enough. (Irena Kaplon).

Youth

Three speakers devoted almost their entire speeches to situations in the youth movement. In speeches by others, too, the necessity of greater party aggressiveness among youth was stressed.

The slogan "The Youth with the Party" was operating well but the reverse was lacking: "The Party with the Youth." Youth organizations based their activity on consumer affairs, and that was their greatest mistake. The Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) must become a forum for political ideology actions. [Ryszard Sielanceyk).

The reactor of the Higher School of Engineering [WSI], Oswald Mateja, spoke about the situation in the student community: The Independent Students Union [NZS], founded recently, represents a small group of students at that educational institution and wants to have complete freedom of action--this it has a right to do; but it also wants to make decisions about strikes on the basis of decisions of its officers--this is stated in its constitution. It is difficult to put up with this kind of attitude. It is also difficult to tolerate publications which are openly antisocialist and are even printed at unknown locations, but which also spread their antisocialist content outside the educational institution, e.g., in public schools.

ZSMP members demand of their organization that it act on their social postulates, because the trade unions do not adequately take care of these. There is considerable youth mistrust of youth movement structures; this is compounded by a lack of legal regulation of the movement's activity. We need party support in our discussion and in our struggle. ZSMP is an ideological organization, and today attempts are being made to form many organizations which deprecate ideology. (Jan Broniewicz).

* * *

In the discussion, many examples were cited of concrete party actions in many workplaces. There was also talk of diverse forms of activity of party members both in the party and outside it.

PUBLIC AIRING OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN SOCIALIST STATES DEPLORED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 8, 20 Apr 81 pp 22-25

[Article by Vasile Sandru: "The Romanian Communist Party, an Active Promoter of the Affirmation of New, Democratic Principles in International Relations"]

[Excerpts] Our party and state have always given special attention to the principles of relations of a new type among socialist states. The organic intertwining of patriotism and internationalism is in the tradition of the workers movement in Romania. As C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea wrote, "internationalism and patriotism, in the best sense of the word, do not exclude each other but are bound together by necessity."

In treating this problem, our party operates on the basis of the reality of the great diversity of historic, national, economic and social conditions in which each people is building socialism, and the necessity that relations of collaboration among the socialist countries, based on equality and mutual respect, should promote and stimulate the economic and social progress of each country, especially the economically backward ones, and the ever more powerful affirmation of each socialist nation. Under conditions in which, as the experience of the socialist countries shows, the nation and the state will continue to serve as the basis for the development of socialist society, the affirmation of the nation and the strengthening of the socialist state not only does not conflict with the interests of internationalism but, on the contrary, fully corresponds to these interests, to the international solidarity of workers and the cause of socialism and peace.

In the view of our party, any inequality and oppression of peoples and nations, any manifestation of the policy of dictat, of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of peoples are foreign to socialism. Eliminating oppression and exploitation on the national level, the new order requires, in an objective manner, the promotion, on the international plane, of a policy of full equality of rights, of mutual respect for independence and national sovereignty.

The new principles of relations among socialist countries require that mutual solidarity and mutual assistance, based on mutual respect and equality, be developed among these countries, with a view to solving essential problems of socio-economic development and of the protection of independence and national sovereignty. The consistent application of the principles of scientific socialism in

relations among socialist countries also presupposes the development of the political dialogue in the spirit of mutual confidence and esteem, the improvement of the mutual informing system, the intensification of consultations and exchanges of opinions in different areas of activity, in matters related to the struggle for the promotion of the cause of socialism and peace.

The wide diversity of conditions, the great differences in the level of economic development and a number of unsolved problems, inherited from the past cause differences of opinion to appear between socialist countries in regard to problems of building socialism, the evaluation of the international situation, and the manner of resolving problems of common interest. This gives rise to the appearance of conflicts between different socialist countries, which life has confirmed in a number of cases. Our party considers that the interests of each socialist country and the general interests of socialism and peace require that, acknowledging the differences and conflicts existing, the ruling communist parties in these countries conscientiously take action to surpass these difficulties and to develop collaboration and strengthen the unity of the socialist countries.

It is particularly important that the differences of opinion which appear during consultations and exchanges of opinion in connection with one problem or another not be used, in any way, as a motive for the deterioration or restricting of relations of friendship and collaboration; on the contrary, in order to clarify such problems, consultations and negotiations on the basis of full equality of rights, in the spirit of mutual respect for the positions and national interests of each country should be continued; this fully corresponds to the general interests of socialism, peace and international collaboration.

At the same time, experience has shown that public discussion, name-calling or censuring the domestic or foreign policy of another socialist state do not contribute to clarifying problems in regard to which there are disagreements; these actions only deepen the differences of opinion and poison the atmosphere of relations among socialist states, constituting an interference in internal affairs and a form of pressure and threats. The common interests of the socialist countries require that all efforts be made to clarify problems by contacts and discussions, on a leadership to leadership basis, in a climate of mutual respect and understanding.

Strict, unconditional respect for the principles of independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality of rights, non-utilization of force and of the threat to use force are of decisive importance for the development of collaboration and the strengthening of the international solidarity and unity of the socialist countries.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN MARXISM, OTHER PHILOSOPHIES EXAMINED

Bucharest. RMA SOCIALISTA In Romanian No 8, 20 Apr 81 pp 29-32

[Article by Ion Florea, of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy: "Critical Dialogue of Marxism with Other Systems of Thought"]

[Text] Theoretical and ideological work is a basic aspect of every communist party's activity and a necessity for scientific substantiation of its political policy and program of revolutionary action. For a party in power, theoretical work is essential to the exercise of its leadership in society, because the role of awareness increases as socialist construction advances and the rate and extent of progress heavily depend on how far political-ideological work reflects the historical necessity and scientifically substantiates the programs for socioeconomic development and the adopted measures, and the extent to which the workers understand and assimilate the requirements for social development and act knowledgeably to implement them.

Theory and Ideology Basic to RCP Policy

The RCP and its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, have made notable contributions to the development of revolutionary theory and practice and to the clarification and solution of the contemporary world's great problems, and accordingly to the dialectical interpretation of the contemporary ideological phenomenon and the way we relate our revolutionary thinking to other conceptions of the world and life. The RCP's scientific, differentiated approach to both domestic and international ideological problems encouraged development of theoretical studies in the social sciences, their treatment of the current problems discussed throughout the world and active participation in the contemporary scientific dialogue. This also helped to further the role of the social sciences in Romania's ideological activity and in developing the political awareness and thought of the masses of workers.

Of course every revolutionary party's ideological activity primarily concerns such internal tasks as development of a scientific policy and revolutionary strategy and tactics suited to the internal and international realities, each country's distinctive features, and the stage the national revolutionary process is in. In the socialist countries it is only a sustained theoretical activity that can scientifically substantiate the preparation of realistic programs and measures for socioeconomic and political development to bring about the victory of socialist construction, continuing improvement of the new order, and the advance toward communism. Therefore sound knowledge of the internal and international social-political realities and further

development of revolutionary theoretical thought and the social sciences are primarily internal obligations of every party and all ideological workers to their own people.

Creative development of Marxist theory, formulation of conclusions for independent activity and for development of procedures in the work of social reform, and enrichment of worldwide and national revolutionary experience by every party are, as Lenin pointed out, primary tasks "because the theory provides only the guiding principles" that are applied differently under the particular conditions of different countries. Marx and Engels pointed out many times that their theory is no dogma or dead letter but a guide to action and a method of analyzing the social phenomena, of interpreting the internal and international changes scientifically, and of determining the revolutionary strategy and tactics and a policy adapted to the particular historical situations. Lenin in his turn pointed out that any attempt at mechanical and uniform interpretation of Marxism "makes it a dead thing" and robs it of "its life's breath."

Especially in our times, when diversification of the socioeconomic and political conditions from one country to another is pronounced and the labor and revolutionary movement has undergone an intensive development, every revolutionary party's activity must be based upon in-depth study of the internal and international realities and of the distinctive features of each people's history and of the present stage, and upon creative application of the general principles of revolutionary theory to each country's particular conditions. That is the only way each party can become the true representative of the working class whence it came and of the vital national interests and aspirations.

The RCP acts in that spirit of creative Marxism, basing its policy and specific measures (including its ideological and educational ones) on observance of the general truths of scientific socialism, on the need of applying them creatively to the particular conditions of the present period, and on Romania's particular conditions, in keeping with our people's interests.

To meet an objective necessity of development of socialist society and formation of the new man, the RCP specially emphasizes ideological and theoretical work and continuing improvement of the communists' and all workers' political training. The Ninth Party Congress of 1965 brought about a widespread renovation of social-political thought, overcoming some dogmatic distortions of the past and establishing a climate of free discussion based on scientific integrity and objectivity and on creative evaluation of the true values. Nicolae Ceascescu's theoretical and political work, which is invaluable for clarification and comprehension of many problems of socialist construction and the modern world, attests the special efforts of the RCP and its secondary general to apply and develop revolutionary theory creatively. The preparation of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism, approved by the 11th RCP Congress, was made possible not only by our people's great victories in socialist construction but also by the party's intensive development, the maturity of its theoretical and practical thinking, the higher ideological level of the communists, and the enhancement of the party's role in the general management of Romanian society. The RCP Program and the documents of the 12th RCP Congress sum up the party's entire theoretical and political thought and set forth its strategic plan of actions for building the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. They are the expression of creative Marxism applied to Romanian conditions.

Need of Dialogue in the Social Sciences

The PCP's ideological work is based on the fact that imperialism and anti-very active reactionary and anticommunist forces still exist in the world. The recrudescence of organizations propagating fascist theories and seriously threatening the cause of democracy and social progress call attention to this, and a firm stand must be taken to expose and combat them on political and ideological grounds.

Anticommunist ideology has been intensified lately, sometimes in the most open and blatant form even in such fields as philosophy. Forms of blatant anticommunism based on distortion and misinterpretation of the essence of Marxist thought have been advanced in the field of philosophy for several years. This function is now being performed by the so-called "new philosophy" and the "new right," which distort the essence of socialism and the content of revolutionary theory from irrational positions. One of the anticommunist procedures is to capitalize on errors in the socialist countries' activity and to identify the new order with them, ignoring socialist society's great achievements and the fact that socialism has opened the way to the workers' liberation from exploitation and social and national oppression and to fulfillment of the principles of equity and justice in human relations. We can in no way tolerate these manifestations of anticommunism, which seek to foment the masses' distrust of the effort to change the course of politics in the capitalist countries and thereby defend the political, class status quo and elitist positions, and we must oppose them most resolutely and aggressively.

But the spectrum of contemporary theoretical thought in the field of the social sciences is much richer and more far-reaching. Contemporary non-Marxist thought is not limited to anticommunist ideology or reactionary ideas. The troubled era in which we live is also reflected on the ideological level by attempts at clear analysis of the crisis of contemporary capitalist society and its antagonistic contradictions in the process of investigation and discovery of solutions for the benefit of humanity. Such attempts indicate that the backward forces in the world are being opposed by broad progressive, anti-imperialist and democratic forces promoting rationalistic and humanistic principles, a policy of international collaboration on the basis of full equality and observance of the principles of national sovereignty and independence, and a new international economic order. And it is necessary to support these trends and to promote the dialogue accordingly.

To engage the dialogue with the various schools of progressive, democratic thought can never mean we should be uncritical of their limitations or close our eyes to the idealist errors and influences of bourgeois ideology or the anticommunist prejudices frequently shared by their proponents despite their predominant progressive tone. Participation in the scientific and theoretical dialogue is essential to the progress of the social sciences, and it also requires principled criticism, firm and active assertion of our ideological stand, and development of Marxist thought and research in those fields. The revolutionary theory, which originated and developed in contact and confrontation with the other schools of thought in the world and assimilated all that was more worthy in human thought throughout history, has only to gain from this dialogue, and it must be receptive to all that is new and progressive in the world today and to the advances and truths of universal science. It must synthesize the fruits of all knowledge to find the answer to the problems constantly presented by experience and the future evolution of human society.

There are many highly important problems, some of them most vital to mankind, such as peace and preservation of humanity from another war, establishment of a new worldwide

economic order, procurement of energy and raw material sources, etc., whose solution requires the contribution of all contemporary social and scientific thought and our revolutionary theory must play the most active part in it.

We refer here to the highly controversial ideas of the "Frankfurt school" of philosophy, which ideas originated in the Marxist theory. Aside from many unscientific ideas and conclusions characteristic of the thinkers of this school, we cannot overlook their criticisms of present-day capitalist society (especially characteristic of Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm) and their promotion of a humanist view, although theirs is an abstract humanism with individualist accents distorting the economic and political priorities of true humanization of society and technology primarily by elimination of private capitalist ownership and acquisition of political power by the working class and its allies. Though such a humanism is called "radical" (as Erich Fromm calls his conception), it is ineffectual practically and speculative theoretically. While criticizing capitalism these thinkers of the "Frankfurt school" say in their latest works that the dominant exploiting classes must disappear if the serious problems impairing and threatening the human condition in the present capitalist world are to be solved. Certainly acceptance of these points does not denote an uncritical attitude toward idealist, psychologistic interpretations of the social facts or toward anticommunist prejudices frequently shared by representatives of that school despite their predominant anticapitalist, antifascist and progressive tone. The dialogue between Marxism and their ideas cannot exclude criticism because the dialogue and ideological criticism form a unity.

The dialogue of Marxism with other theories is no abstract principle that can be generally and uniformly applied but is concrete in nature according to the authenticity of the problems discussed and the solutions proposed by a given theory or thinker and their social function. The limits of the dialogue expand or contract according to the social function of the theories we discuss and their contributions to the development of social thought in a given field.

The dialogue also calls for receptiveness to truth and value in the previous speaker's ideas. The party spirit of Marxist philosophy also requires comprehensive analysis of every idea in the light of its contribution to the progress of scientific and philosophical knowledge and to explanation of the phenomena.

Any ideological or scientific dialogue requires the broadest democratism in its conduct, every opportunity for discussions, the right to reply, and full equality among the participants in this respect without according anyone the privilege of the last word. Moreover promotion of the idea of the "last word" in science impedes or even stops the dialogue and has been a form of manifestation of metaphysics and of suppression of dialectics.

The dialogue is a particular internal necessity for developing theoretical Marxist thought and consolidating unity and collaboration within the international communist and labor movement. The common dialogue and discussion by Marxist theorists is essential to clarification of the many problems now presented by socialist construction and revolution and by the development and future of contemporary society. The RCP favors extensive exchanges of opinions with all parties as well as democratic discussion of the problems of the world of today in a spirit of mutual respect that will lead to clarification of the problems and consolidation of the unity of the communist and labor movement and friendly collaboration among parties and among the socialist countries. The diversity of the paths to socialism in keeping with the particular

national conditions and the resulting diversity of revolutionary strategies and tactics require strict observance of every party's autonomy in setting its political policy with no outside interference and of full equality among the parties. We feel the various problems of general interest to the communist movement must be discussed with mutual respect and consideration for the other's views, on the basis of every party's necessary obligation to contribute to the growth and creative enrichment of the common treasury of revolutionary theory and practice and of scientific socialism. But the diversity of the political strategies and tactics adopted must not lead to opposition of some parties to others, to rejection of experience and methods verified in practice, or to generalization of ideas or models developed under particular conditions.

Therefore we must by no means make the mistake of regarding expression of different views, differing interpretation, or even conflicts of opinion in the communist and labor movement as hostile trends from one direction or another that we should label "ultraconservative" or "anti-Marxist." Such practices can only impair socialism and the progress of revolutionary thought, cause misunderstandings and impede the struggle with real ultraradicalism and imperialism. The RCP calls for a clear distinction between the conflicts of opinion that arise among communists and Marxists and the contemporary ideological struggle, which reflects on the level of ideas the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the progressive and the reactionary forces, and the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

The Dialogue in Ideological and Propaganda Activity

In the social sciences, truth originates and proves its authenticity in dialogue and confrontation of opinions. The dialogue is an efficient way of checking the correctness of an idea, it opens up new perspectives and approaches, and it stimulates new theoretical reflections and investigations and new dialectical correlations and relations among phenomena. It is also a factor for clarification and elimination of errors and misunderstandings.

Under the conditions of bourgeois society, the dialogue's positive function of stimulating thought, promoting the scientific conception of the world, and broad democratic dissemination of information and ideas is bound up with an educational function of fighting against ideas and convictions about life. The dialogue does not influence men's consciousness or form advanced convictions and attitudes through mere affective appeal or imposition of ideas but through confrontation of opinions.

When the educational powers fully demonstrated in practice, the dialogue is extensively promoted by the RCP in the field of political propaganda and in all ideological and cultural activity as a means of improving all political-educational work and party instruction and of enhancing their active, participative character. In this way propaganda and cultural activity are organically integrated in the practice and climate of constantly developing socialist democracy.

In the new society, the dialogue has both an informative function of actively conveying the dialectical-materialist and the scientific interpretation of reality, facts and events, and the spirit of the dialectical-materialist conception and the party policy, and an educational function, inseparable from the informative one, of forming communist ideas and convictions about life and stimulating the workers' will and resolve to carry out the objectives of building the new order. The two aspects, informative and educational, are inseparable in party, scientific and cultural

propaganda, because without information the dialogue cannot be effected in any of these fields. Viewed in this light, our propaganda cannot be divorced from "circulation" of information, integrally combined with the assertion of a clear ideological stand.

The political and ideological dialogue also has a critical function of exposing all that is corrupted and obstructive to social and individual progress and of forming the critical and self-critical spirit and militant opposition to backward ideology and attitudes. And the critical and revolutionary function of our ideology can be truly manifested only in and through dialogue and discussion and in confrontation with unscientific, idealist and retrograde viewpoints, and not by isolation or ignoring views foreign to our conception of the world and life.

Accordingly the RCP is extensively promoting the dialogue and discussions in ideological and propaganda work as a profoundly democratic method that also stimulates the masses' active theoretical and political thinking, activity that creates values, and clarification of the ideological and scientific problems. Of course some one-sided approaches and even wrong ideas can also appear in discussions. Frank discussion of these ideas and possible errors is merely a natural way to correct them and a method of reaching the truth.

Widespread promotion of the ideological and scientific dialogue in Romania harmonizes with the profoundly democratic style of social management promoted by the party and its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, for whom the dialogue with the masses of workers has become a major political practice of Romanian politics.

Q166

CSO: 2700/215

NEW TRADE UNION OFFICIALS

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 9 Apr 81 p 2

[Congress of General Union of Trade Unions]

[Text] Members of Central Council of General Union of Trade Unions

1. Arcumituie Vasile
2. Albu Elena
3. Alda Mihail
4. Andries Stefan
5. Andreian Aurel
6. Arsenie Constantina
7. Babes Ana
8. Balau Marin
9. Balas Ildiko
10. Balas Vasile
11. Balas Alexandru
12. Balta Constantin
13. Bana Gheorghe
14. Bana Ioan
15. Bana Ioan
16. Badarau Costin
17. Balan Maria
18. Balas Ioana
19. Beciu Tiberiu-Horia
20. Belu Ion
21. Berca Victor
22. Bernea Pompiliu
23. Birsan Nicolae
24. Bolan Zina
25. Boroi Maria-Margareta
26. Boroi Vasile
27. Boroi Gheorghe
28. Boroi Gheorghe
29. Bociacu Nistor
30. Botan Mihai
31. Botocanu Petres
32. Botan Nicolae
33. Bratu Nistor
34. Bratu Mihail
35. Brucan Lazar
36. Brucan Anamaria
37. Bucur Florina
38. Bucura Nandine
39. Budan Tudor
40. Budan Gheorghe
41. Budan Gheorghe
42. Budan Nicolae
43. Caracu Constantin
44. Catana Elena
45. Cazan Vasile
46. Chinescu Stefan
47. Cionescu Dina
48. Chertea Erem
49. Chiriac Elina
50. Chiriac Ioan Iulia

51. Ciupura Ion
52. Ciurea Gheorghe
53. Cirjan Nandine
54. Cusan Victoria
55. Constantin Florin
56. Costache Bruma
57. Cosovan Udrea Tania
58. Cosovan Eugenia
59. Cristian Luciu
60. Cucu Margareta
61. Dacuta D. Petru
62. Dacuta Petru
63. Dancu Petru
64. Dancu Petru
65. Dancu Ili
66. Dancu Dorina-Elena
67. Dancu Constantin
68. Dancu Gheorghe
69. Debrin Cuman
70. Dragomirescu Laurentiu
71. Draga Elena
72. Draga Ion
73. Draghiu Haralambie
74. Dura Aurel
75. Dudu Stefan
76. Dumitru Romic
77. Dumitru Gheorghe
78. Ene Elena
79. Fabian Lebea
80. Faur Grigore
81. Faur Florian
82. Filarescu Alexandru
83. Flores Ion
84. Flores Nandine
85. Flores Virgil
86. Florica Ion
87. Fura Florina
88. Fusi Lenuta
89. Fustan Maria-Magdalena
90. Frone Petre
91. Fulga Constantin
92. Furdui Nandine
93. Furdui Petru
94. Galina Ioan
95. Gheorghe Gheorghe
96. Gheorghe Vangelia
97. Gherlan Vasile
98. Ghim Gheorghe
99. Gilghe Maria
100. Godescu Eugenia

101. Goga Niculina
102. Goran Mihail
103. Gorga Ili
104. Graci Ana
105. Grigore Alexandru
106. Grin Stefan
107. Guran Olguta-Liana
108. Gurgu Victor
109. Habet Gheorghe
110. Habet Virgil
111. Herbei Aspasie
112. Homet Vasile
113. Horje Gheorghe
114. Hutan Gheorghe
115. Iacobici Dumitru
116. Iacobici Victor
117. Igrai Viorel
118. Ili Haralambie
119. Ili Ruxandra-Maria
120. Ili Steliana
121. Ionescu Gheorghe
122. Ionescu Nicolae
123. Ionescu Toma
124. Iorga Tudor
125. Iord Nandine
126. Iord Iulia
127. Lung Niculina
128. Jancu Paracheva
129. Karadi Stefan
130. Lamas Luciu
131. Lascu Nicolae
132. Lascu Valeriu
133. Lascu Florina
134. Lascu Elena
135. Lungu Iulian
136. Lungu Erika
137. Lupu Grigore
138. Lupu Laurentiu
139. Marea Nicolae
140. Marea Mihai
141. Marin Stelian
142. May Gunther
143. Mădăraș Stan
144. Mădăraș Iuliana
145. Mădăraș Maria
146. Mădăraș Gheorghe
147. Mădăraș Leticia
148. Micu Maria
149. Micu Maria
150. Mihai Gheorghe

151. Mihalena Nicula
152. Mihăescu Grigore
153. Mihăilescu Florina
154. Mircea Cornelia
155. Mirza Gheorghe
156. Niculescu Cornelia
157. Niculescu Aurel
158. Nita Ion Aurel
159. Nistoreanu Eleonora
160. Nistoreanu Eugenia-Doina
161. Nistoreanu Miha
162. Nistoreanu Mircea Aurel
163. Nita Ion
164. Nita Constantin
165. Nistoreanu Nicula
166. Oaida Vasile
167. Olah Ladislav
168. Olteanu Constantin
169. Onescu Corneli
170. Orban Arpad
171. Pap Ana
172. Păcuraru Stefan
173. Păcuraru Elisabeta
174. Pavel Stefan
175. Păpulescu Elena
176. Peter Elena
177. Petrescu Gheorghe
178. Petrescu Gheorghe
179. Petrescu Elena
180. Plesca Constantin
181. Pop Elena
182. Popa Aneta
183. Popa Mihai
184. Popa Nicolai
185. Popa Teodor
186. Popa Teodora
187. Popescu Nicula
188. Porumbescu Radian
189. Preda Elena
190. Preda Nicula

191. Prunsa Teodor
192. Puiu Elena
193. Puiu Ion
194. Rău Doru
195. Radu Grigore
196. Rădulescu Aurel
197. Rădulescu Ion
198. Rădulescu Maria
199. Rădulescu Pirocha Elisabeta
200. Rădulescu Alexandru
201. Rău Emil
202. Rădulescu Marius
203. Rădulescu Gheorghe
204. Rădulescu Nicula
205. Rău Ion
206. Rău Gheorghe
207. Rădulescu Tănase
208. Rădulescu Dumitru
209. Rădulescu Nicula
210. Rădulescu Octavian Nicula
211. Rădulescu Gheorghe
212. Rădulescu Ion
213. Rădulescu Ion
214. Rădulescu Ion
215. Rădulescu Gheorghe
216. Rădulescu Victor
217. Rădulescu Ecaterina
218. Rău Elena
219. Rădulescu Mariana
220. Rădulescu Emilia
221. Rădulescu Teodor
222. Rădulescu Lucian Victor
223. Rădulescu Viorel
224. Rău Nicula
225. Rădulescu Dumitru
226. Rădulescu Frumina
227. Rădulescu Constantin
228. Rădulescu Ion
229. Rădulescu Ion
230. Rădulescu Ion

231. Rădulescu Gheorghe
232. Rău Elena
233. Rădulescu Ion
234. Rădulescu Doru
235. Rădulescu Florina Blaga
236. Rădulescu Elena
237. Rădulescu Alexandru
238. Rădulescu Frumina
239. Rădulescu Ion
240. Rădulescu Aurel
241. Rădulescu Nicula
242. Rădulescu Constantin
243. Rădulescu Alexandru
244. Rădulescu Viorel
245. Rădulescu Mihai
246. Rădulescu Dobrita
247. Rădulescu Nicula
248. Rădulescu Liviu
249. Rădulescu Ion
250. Rădulescu Vasile
251. Rădulescu Zoltan
252. Rădulescu Ecaterina-Maria
253. Rădulescu Gheorghe
254. Rădulescu Nicula
255. Rădulescu Nicula
256. Rădulescu Victor
257. Rădulescu Constantin

Candidate Members

1. Ardeleanu Stefan
2. Ardeleanu Ana-Maria
3. Barabas Codreanu
4. Bărbulescu Ion
5. Bărbulescu Petru
6. Bărbulescu Sabina
7. Bradu Aurora
8. Bradu Maria
9. Bradu Alina
10. Buga Nicula
11. Buzur Maria
12. Ciplăveschi Georgeta
13. Ciocănea Dumitru
14. Chiriac Tudorina
15. Ciocăneanu Anastasia
16. Ciocănea Gheorghe
17. Ciocănea Elena
18. Ciocăneanu Rodina-Dorina
19. Ciocăneanu Florina
20. Ciocăneanu Dumitru
21. Ciocăneanu Elisabeta
22. Ciocăneanu Aurel
23. David Augustin
24. Diaconescu Ion
25. Diaconescu Maria
26. Diaconescu Maria
27. Diaconescu Gheorghe
28. Diaconescu Raluca

29. Diaconescu Elena
30. Diaconescu Elisabeta
31. Diaconescu Maria
32. Diaconescu Ion
33. Diaconescu Stefan
34. Diaconescu Ion
35. Diaconescu Maria
36. Diaconescu Constantin
37. Diaconescu Dorina
38. Diaconescu Gheorghe
39. Diaconescu Ion
40. Diaconescu Teodor
41. Diaconescu Ion
42. Diaconescu Elena
43. Diaconescu Ana
44. Diaconescu Dorina
45. Diaconescu Elena-Gabriela
46. Diaconescu Stefan
47. Diaconescu Ion
48. Diaconescu Victor
49. Diaconescu Hilda
50. Diaconescu Vasile
51. Diaconescu Ion
52. Diaconescu Constantin
53. Diaconescu Petru
54. Diaconescu Elena
55. Diaconescu Emil
56. Diaconescu Olga

57. Diaconescu Pompiliu
58. Diaconescu Vasile
59. Diaconescu Maria
60. Diaconescu Elena
61. Diaconescu Elena
62. Diaconescu Ecaterina
63. Diaconescu Eugenia
64. Diaconescu Maria
65. Diaconescu Adrian
66. Diaconescu Ovidiu
67. Diaconescu Silvia
68. Diaconescu Antoniu
69. Diaconescu Radu
70. Diaconescu Mariana
71. Diaconescu Dobrita
72. Diaconescu Elena
73. Diaconescu Beata
74. Diaconescu Elena
75. Diaconescu Constantin
76. Diaconescu Petru
77. Diaconescu Maria
78. Diaconescu Gheorghe
79. Diaconescu Ion
80. Diaconescu Stefan
81. Diaconescu Vasile
82. Diaconescu Ion
83. Diaconescu Ion
84. Diaconescu Stefan

Members of the Central Auditing Commission

1. Alene Octavian	10. Cristea Stefan	19. Halunga Constanta	28. Pop Aurica
2. Andreescu Nicolae	11. Cristea Stefan	20. Halmu Constantia	29. Rusevici Alexandru
3. Anghel Vasile	12. David Gheorghe	21. Hlorbe Vasile	30. Schifaru Dian
4. Badita Paraschiv	13. Deladi Adrian	22. Lupa Nicolai	31. Suta George-Dan
5. Bomanbey Dumitru	14. Diau Constanta	23. Moga Ion	32. Stefan Vitor
6. Bougher Nicolae	15. Fainis Dumitru	24. Nallinger Mihail	33. Stefanescu Nicolae
7. Cazan Nastasia	16. Florescu Lucia	25. Noma Aurel	34. Theanu Ion
8. Cojocari Mariana	17. Gheorghe Jolan	26. Nistor Alexandru	35. Tudor Iana
9. Chereches Zamfir	18. Garna Gheorghe	27. Nuja Maria	

Executive Committee of Central Council of General Union of Trade Unions

1. Albu Elena, candidate member of Central Committee of RCP, chairman of the Neamt County Council of Trade Unions.
2. Balan Maria, laboratory assistant, Suceava Woodworking Combine, member of the trade union committee.
3. Balta Constantin, vice chairman of the Central Committee of ODUS [expansion unknown], foreman at the Bucharest "23 August" Enterprise.
4. Besoiu Pompiliu, chairman of the trade union committee -- Galati Metallurgical Combine.
5. Briceag Lazar, shift chief -- Caransebes Romanian Railroads Depot, chairman of the trade union committee.
6. Bucur Floarea, chairman of Dimbovita Trade Union County Council.
7. Catana Elena, scientific researcher, Bucharest Central Institute for Chemical Research, member of the trade union committee.
8. Calinescu Stefan, deputy of the Commission for Organizational, Statutory and Trade Union Autonomy Affairs.
9. Ceausescu Dinca, chief mining foreman at the Plostinu-Gorj Mining Unit.
10. Chimirel Elisabeta, engineer at the Bucharest National Power Control Center.
11. Cucu Margareta, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Light Industry.
12. Diaconu Ilie, chairman of the trade union committee of the Hunedoara "Vulcan" Mining Enterprise.
13. Dinca Dorina-Elena, member of the Central Committee of ODUS, chemical operator at the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Pulp and Paper Combine, vice chairman of the Mehedinți Trade Union County Council.
14. Dragomirescu Laurentiu, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Press, Printing and Publications.

13. Duca Aurel, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Central Committee of RCP, official of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions.
16. Dumitru Romica, head of a farm, Dudesti-Braila State Agricultural Enterprise, member of the trade union committee.
17. Ene Elena, official of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions.
18. Frone Petre, chairman of the Prahova Trade Union County Council.
19. Furdul Petru, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Mining, Petroleum, Geological and Electric Power Enterprises.
20. Gligor Maria, candidate member of the Central Committee of RCP, chairman of the Iasi Trade Union County Council.
21. Goran Mihail, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in State Administrative Institutions and People's Councils.
22. Iosif Nicolae, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Transport and Telecommunications Enterprises.
23. Kerodi Stefan, candidate member of the Central Committee of RCP, deputy to the Grand National Assembly, official of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions.
24. Manea Nicolae, foreman -- Cartojani-Giurgiu Mining Field, member of the trade union committee.
25. May Gunther, engineer -- Sibiu County, Mirsa Mechanical Enterprise.
26. Mandru Maria, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Health Units.
27. Moja Ioan-Aurel, senior editor, newspaper MUNCA.
28. Munteanu Mihail, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in the Chemical Industry and Crude Oil Processing.
29. Nita Constantin, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Metallurgy and Machine Building.
30. Onescu Cornel, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of RCP, deputy to the Grand National Assembly, official of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions.
31. Pavel Stefan, official of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions.
32. Peter Elena, workshop head, Cluj-Napoca "Clujana" Leather and Footwear Combine.

33. Petrescu Gheorghe, member of the Central Committee of RCP, deputy to the Grand National Assembly, official of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions.
34. Popa Anica, laboratory assistant, Borzesti Petrochemical Combine.
35. Popescu Nicolae, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Agriculture and Food Industry.
36. Puscas Ioan, chairman of the Brasov Trade Union County Council.
37. Ramneantu Maria, technologist, Timisoara "Bega" Garment Enterprise, vice chairman of the trade union committee and ODUS in the enterprise.
38. Sanda Gheorghe, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Forestry Economy and Construction Materials.
39. Spinu Dumitra, chief engineer -- Constanta Enterprise for Grinding and Bakery Products and Pasta, member of the Constanta Trade Union County Council.
40. Stefanescu Viorel, chairman of the Bucharest Trade Union Municipal Council.
41. Szasz Ilona, member of the Central Committee of ODUS, weaver at the "Oltul" Textile Enterprise of Sfintu Gheorghe Municipality, member of the trade union committee.
42. Tataru Ioan, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in the Construction Industry.
43. Tiron Dobra, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Trade and Cooperation.
44. Tolescu Nicolae, chairman of the trade union committee at the Pitesti-Arges Automobile Enterprise.
45. Tigaran Dobrita, member of the Committee of Trade Unions in Education and Culture.
46. Ursu Ion, chairman of the trade union committee at the Craiova-Dolj "Electroputere" Enterprise.
47. Vegvari Zoltan, chairman of the trade union committee at the Oradea-Bihar "Infratirea" Enterprise.

Executive Bureau of Central Council of General Union of Trade Unions

Chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions

Cornel Onescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of RCP, deputy to the Grand National Assembly.

Vice Chairmen of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions

Gheorghe Petrescu, member of the Central Committee of RCP, deputy to the Grand National Assembly

Flora Bucur, chairman of the Dimbovita Trade Union County Council

Margareta Cucu, chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in the Food Industry

Anica Popa, laboratory assistant, Borzesti Petrochemical Combine

Elena Peter, workshop head, Cluj-Napoca "Clujana" Leather and Footwear Combine

Constantin Balta, vice chairman of the Central Committee of ODUS, foreman at the Bucharest "23 August" Enterprise

May Gunther, engineer -- Sibiu County, Mirsa Mechanical Enterprise.

Secretaries of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions

Aurel Duca, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Central Committee of RCP

Elena Ene

Stefan Korodi, candidate member of the Central Committee of RCP, deputy to the Grand National Assembly

Stefan Pavel

At its first session, the Central Auditing Commission elected Ion Moga as its chairman.

11710

CSO: 2700/225

DANISH REPORTER SEES EVIDENCE OF INCREASED UNION INDEPENDENCE

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 23 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by Vibeke Sperling]

[Text] Bukarest, April. "The Romanian labor movement is autonomous," Aurel Duca, international secretary of the central council of the Romanian labor movement's main organization, the Romanian Federation of Trade Unions, told INFORMATION.

Duca stresses the Romanian efforts to give the labor movement "a new and ever-increasing role." Hand in hand with this are the efforts to moderate the party's traditional avant-garde role, even though the definition of the Communist Party as "the leading political force" in the society remains unchallenged. The Romanian Federation of Trade Unions has 7 million members. The party has about 3 million.

Thus, Duca states that the autonomy of the labor movement does not mean disagreement with the party. "Our organization agrees with the party in the main directions, but the union has its own foundation. In our statutes, we state clearly that we support the political role of the party. However, this does not in any way mean the subjugation of the labor union under the party."

At the congress of the Romanian Federation of Trade Unions in Bucharest from 6 to 8 April, party and government chief Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the necessity of giving a higher priority to the role of the labor movement and said: "Party organizations must neither subject the trade unions to their control nor watch over them. They should work to fulfill their duties by having communists work within the labor unions."

Thus, in word at least, Ceausescu was close to dismissing the traditional communist perception of trade unions as mouthpieces for the party, a force that exists primarily to carry out the party's policies at work places.

Trade union secretary Aurel Duca, in a conversation with INFORMATION, linked this with the special form of Romanian industrial democracy.

"Self-rule, self-management, and self-financing" of businesses were the key concepts at the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in 1979 and now at the trade union congress. "This can be developed further only if the influence of the trade union is intensified at all levels of society," Duca said. He

rejected the idea that this had caused or is causing conflicts between the party and the labor union and he said: "The most important reason for this is that the party does all it can to avoid discontent in our working class. For example, the party had established an 18 percent wage increase in the past 5 year plan, but revised this figure upward to 29 percent, since the general economic trend demonstrated that this was possible. If discontent appears within the working class, the party works together with the labor unions to solve the problem in order to avoid abnormal developments."

Duca denied that the situation in Poland had made the party and the labor movement more aware of industrial democracy. "Our policies are not dependent on current fluctuations. Worker self-management has developed out of the past 15 years of experimentation. It has nothing to do with the situation in Poland. For many years now it has been a consistent policy among Romanian communists that people who work in production will also lead society. The constant movement in that direction in our country also shows that this is something more than propaganda," Duca said and continued: "This is true not only at the plant level, but also at the state level."

Worker Councils

Elected worker councils are a reality in the various economic and social units of Romania. They have 33 members, the majority of whom, 17 members, are elected by all employees from among all employees. The remaining 16 are ex officio members.

Worker council chairman Elena Verona Burtea told INFORMATION the following about worker self-management at her plant, the largest textile factory in Bucharest:

"Like all other factories, we have a collective leadership in the form of a worker council, which is under the direction of a workers' general assembly, which meets twice each year. Since there are 18,000 employees at our factory we use a representative system. Six hundred employees participate in the general assembly and they are elected at the previous departmental general assemblies where everyone has the right to vote and anyone may be elected. The factory's general assembly elects the members of the factory's worker council and supervises its work. The elected members can be recalled at the next semi-annual general assembly if they do not fulfill their duties. The worker council meets at least once a month according to need and appoints an executive committee that is responsible for the decisions of the worker council. Moreover, after each council meeting departmental meetings are held where the decisions are discussed in order to find the best way to put them into practice."

Limited Council Power

Burtea pointed out further that there is yet another organization "to assure the broadest possible democracy," namely the Organization for Democracy and Socialist Unity. All mass organizations participate in it: youth, sports, women's, and cultural organizations, as well as the party. However, only non-party members are in the leadership of this organization and it is represented in the worker council by its chairman, who is among the ex officio members.

Other ex officio members of the worker council are the local trade union leader, the administrative director, other technical leaders, and the chairman of the youth organization and the women's organization.

Elena Verona Burtea is worker council chairman because of her position as party secretary. She admits that there are a number of limitations on the power of the worker council, for example with regard to daily management and the executive committee, where not all members can be recalled like the members who are directly elected in the various departments.

However, this problem is being discussed further and the upcoming national worker council congress in May will produce new guidelines.

Here, too, Nicolae Ceausescu has given the party's approval for going a step further in the democratization process. He said: "At the worker council congress in May we will take new steps to increase the influence of the councils on plant management and also decide how management organizations that do not fulfill their duties can be dismissed."

Democratization and Work Tempo

More direct involvement of workers in the management of the various businesses in Romania goes hand in hand with mobilization to fulfill production plans. One of the basic principles, for example, is that any reduction in working hours or change in production may occur only to the extent that productivity is increased.

Several years ago, Romanian workers received one Saturday off per month. This was accomplished only after experiments had shown that a change in working hours would not involve a decrease in productivity. On an experimental basis, the work week at a number of businesses has been reduced from the 48 hours now in effect to 46 hours. The 46 hour week will be in effect in 1981 if there is a corresponding increase in productivity and there will be a 44 hour week before the end of the current 5 year plan, i.e. before 1985, but with the same stipulation. This system is very deliberate, several labor union people stressed to INFORMATION, in that there will be a close and noticeable relationship between increased production and the quality and rise in the individual's standard of living. At this textile plant, as at other factories, there is an effort to increase the workers' consciousness about the use of resources. Raw materials must be conserved and workers must "remember to turn off the sewing machines when they leave them."

Burtea stated that the economic plan determines what raw materials the factory has at its disposal. "However, we do not perceive this in any way as an unjust limitation on our freedom of action. The country has sparse resources. This is a reality we must accept. However, the individual workers know that if we find better ways to get more out of the resources we receive then that means we will earn more."

About 20 percent of the company's profit goes to the state and the rest remains in the company for wages, social funds, cultural activities, and new investments. The worker council and the general assembly decide how the funds are to be distributed.

Yugoslavian Inspiration, But...

Many of the elements in the Romanian self-management system are similar to the Yugoslavian system. In the Yugoslavian system, however, there is no strict management of resources, especially for the distribution of raw materials. On this

question a labor union representative said: "We do not want the competitive relationship between individual companies such as exists in the liberal Yugoslavian system." He hastened to add, however, that "this is not to criticize the Yugoslavs. Each nation must act according to its own conditions and needs. We refuse to follow models."

A tour through the textile factory reveals that the workers toil intensely for their wages and to increase the standard of living. With their sewing machines close together, about 1,500 women sit in each room. One sews shoulder seams, another sews side seams. Both the tempo and temperature are high. Signs urge them to save electricity and light. The director proudly demonstrates the various models and says: "This dress is for the American market, this one for the West German. These models are for the domestic market. We produce only a limited number, since our women do not want to look all alike either."

On the relationship between production and the market Burtea said: "We have a number of stores ourselves where we can determine the needs and adjust our production and collection accordingly. In addition, we have contracts with large stores and other boutiques. All of Bucharest's textile production is also centralized. Other types of businesses also have the same system."

The textile center in Bucharest is here at the plant. "It coordinates the production plans of the various factories, exchange of experience, joint research, etc. This does not interfere with self-management, but the center also conducts efficiency control. After all, the goal is not merely self-management, but also self-financing. We cannot afford inefficiency or deficits in our operations," Burtea said.

Model Company

This is a model company that was shown to INFORMATION and it is the same company INFORMATION's correspondent was shown in Bucharest in 1979. However, this second visit also offered an opportunity to observe noticeable progress in the working environment and also in the social and cultural organizations.

The average wage at the factory is 2,200 lei (1 krone = 1.60 lei), the lowest wage is 1,600 lei and the difference between the highest and lowest wage is a factor of five to one, as it is on the national level. The average national wage is 2,238 lei compared to 1,595 lei in 1975. Here as with most other jobs the workers are paid on commission with various bonuses and premiums.

"The final wage depends directly on the amount produced. We do everything we can to inform the workers in as much detail as possible about accounting procedures so that they are clear for everyone," Burtea continued. "Here, as in the national economy, we have done away with the idea that it is necessary to as much as possible. Efforts are now underway to improve the product and rationalize the production process. There are lively discussions on these issues between the various departments and those responsible for carrying out decisions. Here, as in other sectors of the economy, we are dealing with the complete transition from extensive to intensive production."

Ceausescu's "Proposal"

Labor union people and party members INFORMATION spoke with refuse almost categorically to make any comparison with working conditions in the Soviet Union or other Eastern European countries. However, they proudly and gladly point to "the special industrial democracy in our country." At the recent labor union congress the national symbol, Nicolae Ceausescu, said among other things: "We have a democratic management system that is one of a kind."

In addition, Ceausescu proposed a "trade" with "the gentlemen in the capitalist countries." This would mean that "they would give the working class the same guarantees for participation in managing their companies...and the domestic and foreign policies of their countries." In return, Romania would "accept any type of inspection and they would do the same."

Of course, several plant visits and a number of conversations cannot answer the question of how Romanian self-management is functioning in practice. There is, however, no doubt that it is a system undergoing development. The noticeable process and noticeable rise in the standard of living are apparently the reasons why Romania is not facing a "Polish situation," despite the long work days, high tempo, and noticeably strict discipline.

9336

CSO: 3106/114

DATA ON PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN MONTENEGRO

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 81 p 17

[Article by Velizar Brajovic: "Statistics, Motivation and Conditions"]

[Text] Last year the most intensive enrollment of new members into the Montenegrin League of Communists was recorded. Total new enrollment was 6,955, so that the Montenegrin organization of the LC [League of Communists] had 72,500 members at the end of 1980. The League of Communists, then, became stronger, renewed itself with new strength, which is especially important from the standpoint of its continuous activity. Nevertheless, we should emphasize that the "record" enrollment last year was also the result of greater interest on the part of young people and working people in joining the LC during the year of Comrade Tito's illness and death. This interest confirms the clear political commitment of young people, their confidence in the LC and their loyalty to Tito's work and ideas.

But in connection with the statistics on the numerical growth of the LC, the question is often asked: What aside from that has this organization achieved? Especially since in previous years it was said in numerous debates on enrollment in the LC that "the role of the LC in society does not become proportionately stronger when numbers are increased." This indubitably opens up many issues related to enrollment policy.

Conditions and Applications

We must immediately put the question: Was last year's enrollment in the LC actually an authentic reflection of the interest of the working people, young people above all? The reason for asking this question lies in the fact that more than 56 percent of the basic organizations of the LC did not enroll a single new member last year. How did it come about that 377 of the 504 basic organizations of the LC in the Titograd Opstina did not see fit last year to put enrollment of new members on the agenda of their meetings? Nor was this done by 83 percent of the basic organizations of the LC in Pluzine, 71 percent in Ulcinj, 70 percent in Budva, 65 in Zabljak, 66 in Kotor, 58 percent in Pljevlja, and so on.

What is this really all about?

Can it be said that all the potential for enrollment in the LC has been exhausted in these communities? Or is it perhaps a question of rigorous criteria for enrollment, that is, an irresponsible attitude toward that task by those basic organizations? It is not easy to give an answer, since it presupposes an extensive survey, but it is certain that all these things are involved to some extent.

To illustrate, last year it was said in discussions of enrollment in the LC that one of the conditions for enrollment in the LC in a large number of basic organizations of the LC was successful completion of some form of political-ideological training. Nominations for enrollment would usually emphasize: "The majority have graduated from such-and-such political school." What, then, is to be done in communities where there is no organized form of political-ideological education? Is it in precisely these communities where there has been no enrollment in the LC and have the Marxist centers, because of their inability to cover the entire republic with institutional forms of ideological education, in a way had a restrictive effect on the rate of growth of the League of Communists?

There is no question that the causes of the inappropriate attitude toward enrollment in the LC should be sought in that area as well as in the poor cooperation between youth and party organizations in certain communities. This kind of behavior, it seems, has also accounted for the unsuitable composition of the new members enrolled.

Low Direct Producers

It is true that the percentage of young people (78.4 percent) is rather high, but it is between 2 and 3 percent lower than in the previous 2 or 3 years. One other datum: young people comprise 35 percent of the membership of the League of Communists, and in Titograd, for example, they represent 42 percent. Quite a bit has been done to carry out the resolutions of the congress by improving the age-specific composition of the membership, but this cannot be said of the social composition of the membership.

In spite of the declaration that "workers must be made a majority in the League of Communists," the percentage of workers is dropping. This decline has been continuing since 1974, when workers represented 26.9 percent in the League of Communists, and at the end of last year they represented only 26 percent. We should mention that in 1974 almost 1,500 workers were enrolled in the League of Communists, while enrollment last year was 1,281. Certainly it has nothing to do with any lack of interest on the part of workers to enroll in the League of Communists. To be sure, certain organizations of the League of Communists in associated labor have not been encouraging workers to join the League of Communists through their own activities, or, more accurately, by their indecisiveness in acting to resolve difficulties. On the other hand some of them have been making it more difficult to enroll workers because of their rigorous criteria (which often are not in the spirit of the By-Laws). For example, there are organizations which make membership in the League of Communists dependent upon level of education, that is, there are many fewer "obstacles" for enrollment of a man with a university education than a skilled worker, not to mention an unskilled worker. If we add this "mandatory" requirement of completing some political school, then it becomes clearer why there are far fewer

workers, nominated for and enrolled in the League of Communists. Especially since in Titograd, for example, only 7 percent of those attending political schools are from organizations of associated labor.

Illogical Justification

but that is not all. The facts indicate that there are many more new members from schools for secondary specialized education, specifically those schools teaching "office" occupations. It seems that it is this battle for a worker majority in the League of Communists that faces the strongest barricade. The inappropriate "selection" of students has recently been contributing to this as well. That is, the best students go to schools which are not pointed toward production shops, and the poorer students learn the "worker" occupations. In their studies they achieve an incomparably poorer record, which is again one of the reasons why their enrollment in the League of Communists is inadequate.

Nor is it better in organizations of associated labor, as confirmed by the datum that only 837 of the 5,500 new members are workers. Why are there few workers in the League of Communists? Should we believe the observations coming in from certain opstinas that the share of the workers "is not increasing because of the high enrollment in other social categories"? No!

In Titograd and Niksic, the two most highly developed industrial opstinas, about 400 workers were enrolled. They represent 14 percent and 19.5 percent, respectively, of total new enrollment in those opstinas. In Ivangrad only three (3) (that there be no mistake) workers were enrolled, and the figure in Ulcinj was 23, but that represents 41 percent. In the final analysis this "achievement" of the people in Ulcinj does not signify much for the overall situation, since precisely where there are the most workers there was no real effort made.

Let us also give evidence for the thesis that the level of education is affecting enrollment: in the League of Communists of Montenegro there are more members with senior postsecondary education (6,895) than highly skilled workers (4,156), though that is not the actual ratio in associated labor.

Underenrollment of workers in the LC is above all a reflection of the inappropriate attitude of basic organizations of the LC toward this effort, and real steps should be undertaken in this area to improve the social composition of the membership.

STUDENTS QUESTION ACTION ON BELGRADE PROFESSORS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 81 p 4

[Editorial comment concerning the Student Assembly at the School of Philosophy of Belgrade University reprinted from STUDENT, Belgrade University student newspaper: "Differentiation Through Action"]

[Text] Belgrade University has always been a subject of the broadest interest of our entire public. The freedom-loving traditions which are its glory, the large size of its student body and their immeasurable potential so necessary to our society's further development are factors which cannot leave anyone indifferent to everything that happens at that university.

In that light the editors of STUDENT deemed it necessary to turn a critical eye toward recent events at the School of Philosophy. A critical attitude has always been our orientation: the endeavor to bring certain problems altogether to a head so that the need to resolve them would be acknowledged more rapidly. This orientation of ours has often been misinterpreted and placed in a wide variety of contexts.

On this occasion we will again be faithful to our orientation toward faster reaction and critical reflection in writing about the recent events at the School of Philosophy, about the assembly held on 23 April.

The issue of the eight former professors at the School of Philosophy has been topical for a long time now. There have been quite a few discussions with them and about them. It is not our intention to go back to the past, but we would like to point up a fact which has been becoming ever clearer during the 15 years of disagreement with the former professors: this group has passed from disagreement over certain historical conceptions to positions that signify outright opposition to everything being done in our country to build socialist self-management. There is, in essence, a great difference between theoretical reflection and outright activity or the political opposition. Strict uniformity of thought has never been characteristic of our party or of the other organized socialist forces. Creative exploration and democratic conflicts of opinion have always been a distinguishing feature of this society. This is not hard to prove. But when "different opinions" are put at the service of tearing down everything that has been achieved in the name of some abstract humanism and when the foundations of our society begin to be

undermined thereby, it is ridiculous to expect democratic dialog. It is in this context that we can comprehend the decision of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia in 1975 prohibiting this group of professors from broadening their influence on students and banning them from positions as lecturers and also the intensified political activity of the organization of the LC [League of Communists] of the university and city late last year and early this year, which was instituted in order to further expose their activity (which had stepped up quite a bit at that time).

Our public's interest in all these events concerning the group of professors is quite understandable. This has been especially evident at Belgrade University and at the School of Philosophy. The desire of the students of the School of Philosophy has often entered the domain of critical reassessment of theoretical articles of the former professors, which is quite understandable. However, the organized socialist forces at the School of Philosophy and at the university, as well as many of the news media have taken the line of least resistance, considering that everything was resolved following the plenary meeting of the university committee held in February of this year and that this question should not be taken up again. It is only about this time that the information which the university committee was to prepare on this entire case will be making the rounds of the basic organizations of all the schools of the universities. During all that time our scholars have not been much interested in a more thorough theoretical confrontation with the attitudes of the former professors.

The experience that a political action cannot last any longer than the time of a meeting, however important it might be, has on this occasion not been applied in practice.

The desire of the students of philosophy and sociology of the School of Philosophy is, then, understandable, and can be accepted even from the strictly professional standpoint. But on this occasion some of the students, precisely because of this desire and an ignorance whipped up with sensationalistic gossiping, have become a fertile ground for manipulation and creation of a new nexus of problems at the University of Belgrade. We make this statement on the basis of several observations.

First, the context of the events as to time. Why is there a desire for fuller information precisely at this time, when it is well known that the issue of the work of the eight former professors has been on the agenda for a rather long time already? The often reiterated phrase "political moment" truly cannot be neglected at this moment. The period following the death of Comrade Tito has been seen by many forces as an opportunity for an attempt, why hide it, to shatter our community. We experience the strongest manifestations of that with all the dramatics last month in Kosovo. We also see in the events at the School of Philosophy the germ of new attempts at destabilization. Perhaps these are strong words, but they are used advisedly. And the very proximity in time and a certain kind of continuity between the hostile activity in Kosovo and the events at the School of Philosophy are not accidental. The desire for "full information" has the effect this time of rather ill-considered grounds for exacerbating the situation at the School of Philosophy once again.

Then again, if there is a desire for "full information," why the insistence that it be offered exclusively from the archives of the School of Philosophy? The case of the eight professors has been deviated at many other places, and there is also documentation to be found in those other places.

Why did a group of participants in the assembly constantly stress the argument that the former professors have to be invited to the assembly if there is to be a "true dialog"? At that point innocence is flung to the winds, and their attempt to use the Student Assembly to achieve goals contrary to the basic purpose of the assembly becomes clear, and the demand of the disguised organizers of the assembly is shown in the full light of day: the desire for the return of the former professors to the School of Philosophy (at the outset only their appearance at the assembly, along with an attempt to use this for the purposes which suit them). This Student Assembly thereby took on elements of a political gathering, which expressed doubt concerning all those decisions and resolutions which had been adopted by the highest self-managed delegate bodies of the university, of Belgrade, and of Serbia, taking a stand in direct opposition to the positions of the League of Communists.

What is the purpose of all this? We are not so naive as to suppose that any of the concealed organizers of the assembly thought it was possible for the former professors to return to the School of Philosophy. This entire incident was originally conceived as a provocation and as an attempt to create a "point of unrest" at Belgrade University. What that means is well known.

A certain number of the younger students were taken in by slogans about "democratic dialog," about the "truth which is being concealed from the students," and about "suppression of basic freedoms, and those students served in turn as a screen for emphasizing the thesis: "This is the desire of the students"! We do not intend at this point to compare the number of those who evidently did want this with the total number of students in that department and at the entire School of Philosophy, since that calculation is not favorable to the "democratically expressed desire." A small number of the most vigorous agitators attempted to increase digressiveness, pathos and eloquence to make up for the inadequacy represented by numerical inferiority. And to some extent they were in fact successful in this because the League of Communists and the Student Youth League at the School of Philosophy and university were not vigilant enough.

There will certainly be self-critical assessments of their own work by the self-managed organized socialist forces at the School of Philosophy and the university.

But more important at this moment is still greater invigoration of the League of Communists and the Socialist Youth League in the various schools at the university and in all communities where students live and work. But not only around this issue. Political activity should not be built from reactions to situations involving lack of restraint, but with lasting activity in the struggle to resolve the numerous problems related to students, their existence and their future. Through action and through assumption of personal responsibility the tasks which have been set can be best formulated in specific terms. And it is only through action that differentiation can be made within the League of Communists. The actions which have recently been undertaken by the university committee of the League of Communists and

the university committee of the Socialist Youth League show that they are not stopping at mere words.

Solving the existential problems of students must not be pushed into the background even in situations like this which represent a threat because of their potential danger. The socialist consciousness of an enormous number of students at Belgrade University is a guarantee that attempts to destabilize this higher educational institution are condemned to failure in advance. There should not be any doubt of that. After all, there is no cooperation without trust. And without cooperation there is no prosperity.

But at this moment all attempts aimed at creating neuralgic points at our university have to be energetically suppressed if we wish to concentrate our forces on the future development of our society, on the future development of socialist self-management. This is an imperative for the further prosperity of Tito's and our Yugoslavia.

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BRIEFS

BAKARIC REMINISCENCES ABOUT TITO--In three consecutive issues, for 30 April/1-2 May, for 3 May and for 4 May, Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian carries reminiscences by Vladimir Bakaric, member of the SFRY presidency and of the LCY Presidium, on his last meetings with Tito, as told to Momcilo Stefanovic in Bakaric's office in Zagreb, date not given. In the first 2,500-word installment in the issue for 30 April/1-2 May, on page 7, Bakaric tells about Tito's activities in 1979 and the predominantly foreign problems he was occupied with that year: The nonaligned conference in Hanoi, Kampuchea, and the Arabs. In the second 2,500-word installment on 3 May on page 9, Bakaric says that in December 1979, Tito intervened in the discussions about the development fund and the relations between the developed and undeveloped regions in Yugoslavia which were dragging on at the time. Bakaric wanted to discuss with Tito the economic position of Yugoslavia in the world and the development problem, but never was able to. Tito "began to realize that it is a profound problem," but Bakaric "could not say how far Tito got in his thinking." Bakaric recalls his own views on the problem of development expressed in the past. In the third and last 2,500-word installment on 4 May on page 4, Bakaric admits that he was not Tito's "intimate friend," but that they were close for many years going back to before the war. Bakaric recalls Tito asking for his opinion in 1968 about the army budget and in 1971 about Croatia, although Tito "for some reasons supported the trends in Croatia--I will not say the Croatian leadership--so that people even thought that he wanted to replace me." Bakaric reminisces about the last meeting with Tito at the Karadjordjevo 1980 new year's eve party and the luncheon he had with Tito on 1 January 1980, after which Tito was taken to hospital. [AU291247 Editorial Report]

LJUBICIC REMINISCENCES ABOUT TITO--Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 4, 5, 6 and 7 May carries four installments of about 2,500 words each of reminiscences by army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, on his last meetings with Tito, as told to Momcilo Stefanovic, POLITIKA editor, place and date not given. In the first installment on 4 May on page 5, Ljubicic quotes the TANJUG report on Tito receiving an army delegation at Karadjordjevo on 21 December 1979. In the second installment on 5 May on page 9, Ljubicic continues quoting the TANJUG report on the 21 December meeting, and then quotes a diary entry he wrote after meeting Tito on 26 January 1979. This was when an army delegation briefed Tito on the military political situation and the state of the army and when Tito spoke about the importance of League of Communists work. In the third installment on 6 May on page 13, Ljubicic talks about the 1980 new year's party at Karadjordjevo, how Tito was taken ill on 2 January and how Ljubicic visited Tito after the second operation. On that occasion Tito spoke about his sons Zarko and Miso. In the fourth and last installment on 7 May on page 13, Ljubicic tells about a meeting with Tito at Brdo near Kranj on 4 September 1978, when Tito told him he thought of being buried at Kumrovec or at Sutjeska, but decided to be buried at the House of Flowers at 15 Uzicka Street, Belgrade. [AU291250 Editorial Report]

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